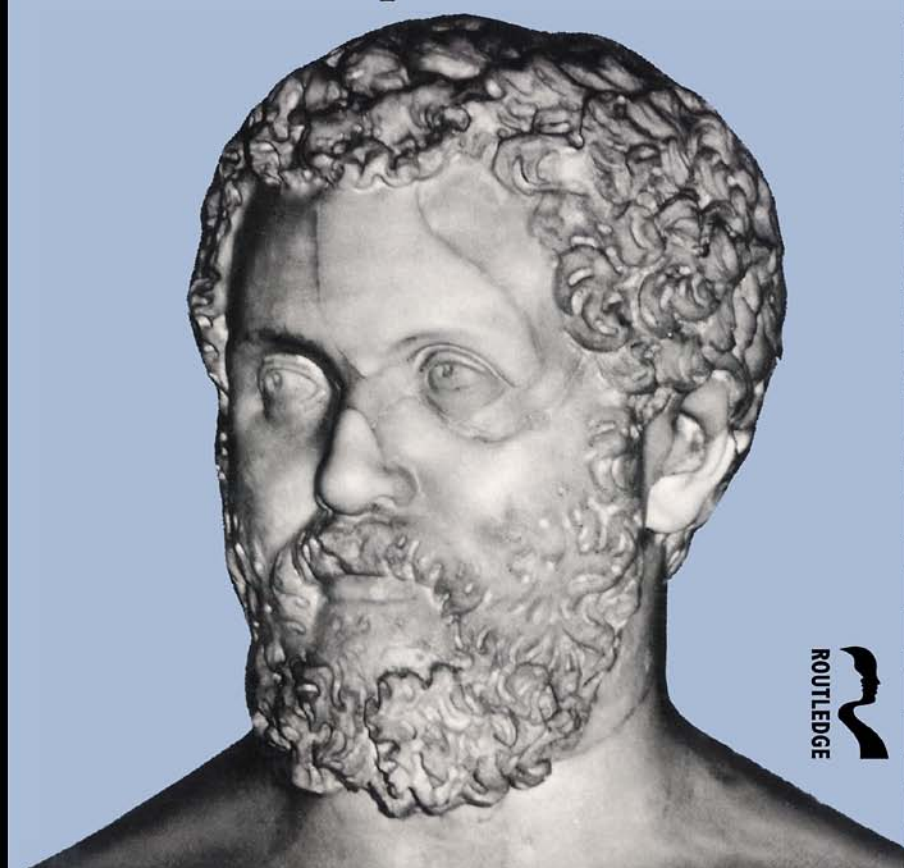


PLUTARCH

and the
HISTORICAL
TRADITION

EDITED BY
Philip A. Stadter



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*Edited by
Philip A. Stadter*



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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Monica Affortunati teaches in the Department of History at the Università di Siena. Her current research interests are Plutarch and Roman republican history.

A.B.Bosworth is Professor and Head of the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Western Australia. He is the author of numerous articles, focusing on the life and campaigns of Alexander the Great. His books include *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, vol. I (Oxford 1980), *Conquest and Empire* (Cambridge 1988), *From Arrian to Alexander* (Oxford 1988), and the chapter on Alexander in the new edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

Frederick E.Brenk, SJ, a Professor Extraordinarius at the Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rome, has written *In Mist Apparelled: Religious Themes in Plutarch's Moralia and Lives* (Leiden 1977), and two monographs in *ANRW*, 'An Imperial Heritage: The Religious Spirit of Plutarch of Chaeronea' (II.36.1, 1987) and 'Markos Antonios: A Literary and Cultural Study' (II.33.5, forthcoming), as well as numerous articles on Plutarch and other subjects. He has been joint editor of *Miscellanea Plutarchea* (*Quaderni del Giornale Filologico Ferrarese* 8, Ferrara 1986) and *Plutarch* (*Illinois Classical Studies* 13.2, Urbana 1988).

Luis García Moreno is Professor of Ancient History at the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, Spain. He has written several studies on the history of Spain under the Visigoths, most recently

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Historia de España visigoda (Madrid, 1989), and articles on Spain in the Roman period.

Judith Mossman has been Lecturer at University College, Oxford, since 1986 and a Junior Research Fellow at Christ Church, Oxford, since 1988. Her book *Wild Justice: A Study of Euripides' Hecuba* is to be published by the Oxford University Press. She has published articles on Plutarch and has also written on Plutarch and Shakespeare.

Christopher Pelling is Fellow and Tutor in Classics at University College, Oxford. His commentary on Plutarch's *Antony* was published in 1988 by the Cambridge University Press, and he has edited *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*, which appeared in 1990 (Oxford). He has written a number of articles on various aspects of Plutarch's work in the *Lives*, and is now working on a commentary on Plutarch's *Pompey* and *Caesar* (with O.D. Watkins), a Penguin translation of some of Plutarch's Roman *Lives*, an edition of Livy's fragments (with M.H.Crawford and the late R. M.Ogilvie), and a book on the techniques of handling the literary sources for Greek history.

Barbara Scardigli is Professor of Roman History at the Università di Siena and author of *Die Römerbiographien des Plutarchs* (Munich 1979), and other studies on Plutarch. Her interests focus on Greek and Roman historiography of the Roman period, including Livy, Nicolaus of Damascus, Plutarch, Appian, and Granius Licinianus.

Philip A.Stadter, Professor of Classics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has written or edited books on Plutarch, the library of San Marco in Florence, Arrian of Nicomedia, and Thucydides, as well as articles on Plutarch and other writers. In 1989 he published *A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles* (Chapel Hill and London).

1

INTRODUCTION

Philip A. Stadter

In the peace of the little town of Chaeronea in central Greece, and the bustle of the university city of Athens, Plutarch composed pair after pair of parallel lives of Greek and Roman statesmen, not following a fixed plan, but moving from one to another as his spirit led him.

I began writing biographies for others, but I have continued and grown attached to them for myself: the virtues of these great men serve me as a mirror in which I may see how to adjust and make more handsome my own life.

(Aem. 1)

Plutarch wrote for his own improvement and pleasure, and that of his close friends, Roman senators and Greek landowners at the beginning of the second century of our era. Yet the charm of his style and the breadth of his vision of a past which had already become classical in his own day has won him admiring readers from his contemporaries to the present. Leonardo Bruni and Niccolò Machiavelli, Rabelais and Montaigne, Shakespeare and Samuel Johnson, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Friedrich Nietzsche have found inspiration in his biographies. Plutarch's greatest attraction has been his ability to use historical figures to contemplate the play of human qualities in action, to reveal the specific cast vices and virtues assume in the contingent world of political leadership and strife.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, a more scientific historical consciousness and a critical investigation of sources turned attention away from the biographer to more reliable,

more objective accounts of our classical past. More penetrating historians were esteemed, who expressed a preference for truth over anecdote, and often demonstrated a cynical or 'realistic' view of human nature: Thucydides and Tacitus came to the fore. They were supplemented by inscriptions, archaeological artefacts, and legal studies, which replaced the subjective portraits of Plutarch or the romantic narrative of Livy with documentary reliability. Biography also took new directions, whether collecting data with the same documentary completeness of the historian, debunking in the sarcastic mode of Lytton Strachey, or penetrating the subject's subconscious through the psychoanalytic mythology of Sigmund Freud. Plutarch's *Lives* lost any independent value, and became the playground of 'source-hunters', each determined to trace individual anecdotes, even individual sentences, back to an identifiable author, and evaluate them according to the supposed reliability or bias of that (usually no longer extant) source.

Even in its heyday, this method had its opponents, people who refused to see Plutarch's biographies as a mere patchwork of earlier authors, stitched together from anthologies and reference works to form popular-philosophical moral tracts. But in the past generation a new re-examination of the *Lives* has been undertaken, in which the distinctive features of the works themselves have taken central stage. No longer seen as an annoyingly opaque but fundamentally simple screen hiding reliable bits of information, the *Lives* instead emerge as original works by a master of style, rhetoric, and biographical technique. The source-hunters' harsh solvents, which so often destroyed the work in the effort to probe beneath its surface, are gradually being replaced by more subtle non-destructive methods, which promise to reveal the delicate workmanship and intricate play of themes that Plutarch brings to his best work, and traces of which are apparent in even his most careless compositions. Simultaneously, they are increasing our understanding of the often complex historical tradition that Plutarch reinterpreted.

The chapters assembled in this collection were all delivered at the Second International Conference of the International Plutarch Society, held at University College, Oxford, in September 1989. As such, they represent a cross-section at one moment in time of current approaches to Plutarch's *Lives*. The conference included many other papers, both on the *Lives* and on the philosophical and ethical essays collectively entitled the *Moralia*, which gave a still richer notion of the varied and variously interrelated themes and techniques

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exhibited by Plutarch, but for the present volume it seemed best to select a small number of papers that would illustrate these themes and techniques in the *Parallel Lives*. In particular, the papers that have been chosen all seem to indicate that these biographies both require and amply reward a thoughtful reading, one responsive to their form and style as well as their content. Thus we can enjoy with earlier generations the delight of observing through Plutarch's eyes the nobility of Pericles or the fickleness of Alcibiades, the viciousness of Sulla or the tragedy of Antony. And thus we can use Plutarch's *Lives* in creating our own understanding of the ancient world, and of human character.

The contributions of these chapters might be summarized under two broad and interdependent categories: biographical techniques and appropriation of sources. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* successfully created living and extraordinarily persuasive portraits of a wide variety of statesmen from two cultures. They represent our single most influential literary window to ancient civilization. Yet Plutarch lived over a century after his most recent subject, Antony, and more than half a millennium after Pericles and Alcibiades. How did he do it? We now know that he was not in most cases dependent on earlier biographies that assembled his material and established thematic consistency. The structure, unifying themes, and psychological insight of the *Lives* define Plutarchian biography, and nothing precisely like it existed before.

Plutarch had no direct contact with any of his subjects: he could not rely on his own impressions, or those of friends and intimates of the man. The anecdotes of Antony's lavish preparations for dinner, seen by a Greek doctor in Alexandria, and of the sufferings of the Greek cities after Actium, both transmitted in Plutarch's family (*Ant.* 28, 68), are rare instances of a personal source for his account. Plutarch had to construct his lives from written sources, usually historians. Pelling and Bosworth examine from different viewpoints the manner in which Plutarch rewrote historical material, selecting, combining, simplifying, enlarging, or drastically abridging.

Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* astounded ancients as it does moderns for its intellectual power and vivid drama. Christopher Pelling examines Plutarch's reworking of Thucydides' narrative in three *Lives*, the *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and *Pericles*. Plutarch clearly knew Thucydides well and stood in awe of his incomparable vividness and emotional force, but did not share his analysis of these men, and so reshaped the information from Thucydides to support

his own interpretation. Not so long ago, it was presumed that Plutarch's differences from the historian proved that he had not used Thucydides directly. Now Pelling can show that he not only used Thucydides, but was able to rely on his readers also being familiar with him, so that his account can play with the reader's expectations, redirecting them, or choosing particular points for emphasis. Quotations from Thucydides may be less confirmatory citations than literary allusions, reminding the reader of a larger context. When Plutarch revises Thucydides' narrative, he may do it on the basis of other sources (such as the Sicilian writers Philistus and Timaeus), but he may also rely on his own understanding of the actions and motives underlying the Thucydidean account to create his own more vivid or more pointed version. Pelling's method, then, is not standard *Quellenforschung*, the attempt to define the sources of isolated passages of an author, but a critical study directed at Plutarch's own efforts to create an effective biography. Often it is impossible to make such an examination, because Plutarch's sources are not extant. The reconstruction of a lost work on the basis of Plutarch's narrative is a dangerous business, for exactly the reasons that Pelling's study reveals. If we try to use such a reconstruction to indicate how Plutarch changed the lost work, we run the risk of creating a vicious circle, in which our initial hypotheses confirm themselves meaninglessly. The sensitive comparison of Plutarch with an extant source, on the other hand, opens a window into Plutarch's mind and method. Pelling argues that although Plutarch's analyses are sometimes crude, reflecting the special needs of a given *Life* or of a particular narrative moment, they can also show a notable sophistication. Plutarch's different aims allow him to reveal aspects of character and of the political situation which Thucydides ignored.

The *Eumenes* presents quite different problems of interpretation, and Brian Bosworth brings a formidable array of weapons to bear in wrestling with the text. Unlike Pelling, he cannot rely on a straightforward comparison with Thucydides, but must reconstruct from extant authors a 'biographical corpus' of information on Eumenes, which would have been first recorded in lost authors such as Hieronymus of Cardia. Like Pelling for Thucydides, he is convinced that Plutarch knew well the information in this 'corpus', so that selections, omissions, and modifications can be seen as revealing Plutarch's artistic and moral purposes in writing the life. A powerful tool in Bosworth's analysis is comparison with the *Sertorius*, the parallel *Life* to the *Eumenes*. Bosworth reveals numerous points in

the *Eumenes* which have been shaped with reference to parallel features in the *Sertorius*. More importantly, he argues that the whole portrait of *Eumenes* has been cut and trimmed to fit the pattern of the Roman general, with significant consequences for our reading of the *Life*. The major omissions and radical compressions create a highly selective narrative and force a thorough reevaluation of Plutarch's account as a source for history. Unlike Pelling, Bosworth directs his analysis of the *Eumenes* toward establishing a valid and probable historical narrative. For the historian, Bosworth concludes, Plutarch can be dangerous: an artist who distorts the historical record to achieve a literary and moral effect. Nevertheless, a careful analysis of his selections and omissions in comparison with other traces of the historical record can allow us to recreate history.

García Moreno turns instead to the prior question, Plutarch's rationale in selecting a historical source that will provide the sort of narrative material which he can use for the creation of his character portrait. Not all authors will serve, and some must be tailored more severely than others. If, in Bosworth's analysis, Plutarch has distorted history to bring Eumenes' life into parallel with Sertorius', García Moreno argues that the *Sertorius* itself has been shaped with quite distinct political and philosophical ideals in mind, which have dictated Plutarch's choice of source and mode of presentation. Most accounts of the Roman general who after the death of Sulla established himself in Spain as leader of the Iberian natives in rebellion against the Roman state were, not unnaturally, hostile to Sertorius and favourable to the brilliant young Pompey who eventually defeated him. In this *Life*, according to García Moreno, Plutarch has chosen to follow an account that instead praised Sertorius as a throwback to the great Roman generals of the past, distinguished by their simple life, their valour and self-control, and the admiration of their troops. The historian Sallust had in his lost *Histories* denigrated Pompey—as Sir Ronald Syme noted, 'For malice against Pompey, the *Histories* offered opportunity ever and again, gladly taken'—and celebrated the tactical skill and leadership ability of Sertorius.¹ Plutarch took Sallust's account and elaborated the portrait of the ideal general still further. García Moreno sees behind the idealized account of Plutarch the Cynic-Stoic concept of the wise ruler, leading in war and peace with the calm knowledge and equilibrium of the perfect sage. Plutarch suggests this underlying notion by his allusions in the *Sertorius* to Hercules and Ulysses, both legendary heroes who had been taken over as examples of the wise man in action by the Stoics. In this view,

Plutarch is doing far more than writing the life of the general: he is transforming the historical figure into a philosophical paradigm. Whereas Bosworth contends that the life of Eumenes has been distorted by the biographer to make it more similar to that of Sertorius, García Moreno proposes that Plutarch uses the very weakness of Eumenes as a leader to establish a foil for the excellences of Sertorius.

Affortunati and Scardigli, on the other hand, argue that Plutarch in the *Life* of a hero of the first days of the Roman republic, Valerius Publicola, blended disparate historical traditions, a significant portion of which took shape some four centuries after Publicola, in the turbulent political and ideological struggles of the Republic's final century. Actions and attitudes attributed to Publicola uniquely by Plutarch open a path through a tangled forest of heterogeneous materials from different historical moments and several generations of annalists and historians. Plutarch's *Publicola* becomes important not only for its reflections of the biographer's concerns, but for the different attitudes of individuals and groups in late-republican Rome who composed their history to provide models and justifications of action.

Another approach is to set aside consideration of how Plutarch reworked his sources, and instead to study the techniques that are apparent in the *Lives* themselves. This is the approach, in different ways, of Mossman, Brenk, and myself.

Mossman is drawn to the life of Pyrrhus; the rash and briefly successful king of Epirus (319–272 BC). During the tumultuous years when the second generation of Alexander the Great's successors were fighting, each to increase his share of the known world, Pyrrhus competed with far more powerful kings in the eastern Mediterranean, then turned west to fight in Italy and Sicily, before returning to Greece and meeting his death in Argos, killed in inglorious street fighting. In her chapter, Mossman scrutinizes a double thread that runs through Plutarch's *Life*: the parallels and contrasts that the *Life* suggests between the lives of Achilles and Alexander and that of Pyrrhus. These analogies help the reader interpret a *Life* that often seems to lose its focus in impulsive campaigns and ephemeral victories. Epic and tragic patterns of fame and defeat, already prominent in the life of Alexander the Great, give a richer meaning to Pyrrhus' emulation of the conquests of his more brilliant predecessor.

INTRODUCTION

Frederick Brenk, on the other hand, examines how the allusions to the Isis cult add resonance to the fateful alliance of Antony and Cleopatra.

Antony begins by characterising Antony strongly but unsightly.... Good qualities and bad are both painted in the firmest lines: both are indeed exaggerated to sharpen the contrast, a crude *chiaroscuro* technique. Then Plutarch gradually deepens the portrait, as we see how the same qualities both build and destroy Antony's greatness.

(Pelling 1988, 13)

To many Romans, Cleopatra's ties to Egyptian culture and Egyptian religion were the most troubling aspects of Antony's relation with her. In a quite different context, his long essay *On Isis and Osiris*, Plutarch found that the Egyptian cult of Isis and her dead and resurrected consort Osiris provided an especially fruitful mythical structure for his Platonic interpretations of the interaction of the soul with the divine. In his chapter, Frederick Brenk examines the possible implications of the overt and implicit allusions to the Isis cult myth and festivals in the *Antony*. In Plutarch's interpretation, the same qualities of character led to both Antony's greatness and his destruction. Through echoes of the Isis and Osiris cult in the *Life*, he heightens and adds resonance to both the greatness and the tragedy of his two protagonists. Similarly, the marvellous stories associated with Sertorius, as García Moreno argues, enhance the portrait of the wise commander.

Parallelism is a constituent feature of Plutarch's biographical endeavour, the significance of which for literary and historical studies is still being explored. Bosworth notes that many of the unusual features of the *Eumenes* may be traced to its role as pair to the *Sertorius*; García Moreno sees the figure of Sertorius as magnified by comparison with the Greek leader; and Pelling alludes to the influence of the Roman parallels on the *Lives* he studies. In my own contribution I explore the operation of Plutarch's system of pairing lives in a set which has often seemed extremely arbitrary, the *Lysander-Sulla*. The two men are *prima facie* immensely different, in historical situations that are in no way comparable. Yet an attentive reading of the two *Lives* as part of one conceptual whole identifies underlying qualities in the two men which not only are similar but which heighten our understanding of their characters. In particular,

the reader recognizes a progression from one *Life* to the next, such that the *Lysander* helps to lay the groundwork for the interpretation of the *Sulla*. The elements of character possessed by Lysander were found also in Sulla, but exaggerated to a viciousness that would make him seem a caricature, if the historical record did not confirm its accuracy. Thus Plutarch's use of the comparative method permits the reader to recognize nascent destructive characteristics in Lysander, and to realize that Sulla is not a monster of depravity, but that his vice represents a natural progression from other more common weaknesses. Comparative technique supports the biographer's effort to elucidate moral character in historical figures. A single characterological complex shows different manifestations depending upon situation, temperament, and opportunity.

Does any overall understanding of Plutarchian biography emerge? Certainly we now realize, and these chapters demonstrate, that the *Parallel Lives* are not the simple product of a cut-and-paste operation, but an artful creation by a master stylist, working from a broad knowledge of ancient historical writing. Plutarch's purposes were not those of the modern historian, antiquarian, or biographer. His very art makes it difficult for us to transfer his writings into our manner of thinking. But if we allow ourselves to enter his *Lives*, and open our thinking to his method of presentation and interpretation, we can enrich our understanding of classical antiquity, and of the vagaries of human character and action, both then and in our own day.

RECENT STUDIES OF PLUTARCH'S *LIVES*

An excellent general introduction to Plutarch is provided by D.A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London and New York 1972). See also his short study, 'On Reading Plutarch's Lives', *Greece and Rome* 13 (1966) 139–54. The historical and social setting in which Plutarch wrote is studied by C.P.Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971) and J. Geiger, 'Plutarch and Rome', *Scripta Classica Israelitica* 1 (1974) 137–44. Plutarch's method of composition in the Roman *Lives* of the Civil War period is well presented in two articles by C.B.R. Pelling, 'Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives', and 'Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source Material', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99 (1979) 74–96 and 100 (1980) 127–40. On Plutarch's choice of heroes and their context in Greco-Roman culture, see J.Geiger, 'Plutarch's Parallel Lives: The Choice of Heroes', *Hermes* 109 (1981) 85–104;

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C.B.R.Pelling, 'Plutarch: Roman Heroes and Greek Culture', in *Philosophia Togata*, ed. M.Griffin and J.Barnes (Oxford 1989) 199–232, and S.C.R.Swain, 'Hellenic Culture and the Roman Heroes of Plutarch', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 110 (1990) 126–45. For other general treatments, see also R.H.Barrow, *Plutarch and his Times* (London 1967), A.J.Gossage, 'Plutarch', in *Latin Biography*, ed. T.Dorey (London 1967) 45–78, and A. Wardman, *Plutarch's Lives* (London 1974). *Illinois Classical Studies* recently devoted a special issue to papers on Plutarch (13.2, 1988).

There are a number of important recent commentaries in English on individual *Lives*: J.R.Hamilton, *Plutarch. Alexander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1969), F.J.Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles: A Historical Commentary* (Princeton 1980), A.J.Podlecki, *Plutarch: Life of Pericles* (Bristol 1987), C.B.R.Pelling, *Plutarch: Life of Antony* (Cambridge 1988), J.L.Moles, *Plutarch: The Life of Cicero* (Warminster 1988), David Sansone, *Plutarch: The Lives of Aristeides and Cato* (Warminster 1989), P.A.Stadter, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles* (Chapel Hill and London 1989). The complete edition of the *Lives* in the Budé series provides an introduction and brief notes in French for all the *Lives* (Paris 1957–83). A similar plan is followed by three Italian editions currently in progress, for the Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli (Milan 1987–, with very full introductions), for UTET (Milan 1989–), and for the Fondazione Lorenzo Valla (Milan 1977–, with a new edition of the text).

Two bibliographies by Barbara Scardigli record recent work: *Die Römerbiographien Plutarchs* (Munich 1979) and 'Scritti recenti sulle Vite di Plutarco (1974–1986)', in *Miscellanea Plutarchea*, ed. F. Brenk and I.Gallo (*Quaderni del Giornale Filologico Ferrarese* 8, Ferrara 1986) 83–96. See also the bibliography of the *Lives* by A.J. Podlecki forthcoming in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der klassischen Welt*.

NOTE

1 R.Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1964) 213.

2

PLUTARCH AND THUCYDIDES

C.B.R. Pelling

I

For Plutarch, as for many today, Thucydides was a special case among the historians:¹

It is time for me to appeal to the reader for indulgence, as I treat the events that Thucydides has already handled incomparably: in this part of his narrative he was indeed at his most emotional, vivid, and varied. But do not assume that I am as vain as Timaeus, who thought that he would outdo Thucydides in brilliance and show Philistus to be totally vulgar and amateurish...Of course, it is not possible to omit the events treated by Thucydides and Philistus, for they include material that gives an especially clear notion of the man's character and his disposition, so often revealed (or possibly 'hidden') by his many calamities. But I have summarized them briefly and kept to the essentials, just to avoid the charge of total negligence. I have tried instead to collect material that is not well-known, but scattered among other authors, or found on ancient dedications and decrees. Nor is this an accumulation of useless erudition: I am conveying material that is helpful for grasping the man's nature and character.

(*Nic.* 1.1, 5)

But we should notice exactly what Plutarch there says. Thucydides is special, but not altogether in the way we expect. Traditionally (at least), we admire Thucydides for his merits as a factual reporter and analyst, his care, thoughtfulness, and apparent precision; if Plutarch could compete at all, we should expect it to be through his literary

virtuosity and charm. Yet for Plutarch himself it is Thucydides' *artistic* qualities that make him so incomparable, that brilliant variety, vividness, and emotion.

Plutarch will not compete on that level. Instead, he will try to find out new facts: that, he feels, is the most useful contribution he can make, especially as those facts reveal so much about Nicias himself. This is serious historical enquiry committed to the truth,² especially (in this case) when the truth goes beyond Thucydides.

This desire to supplement Thucydides with new facts is often clear enough: outside *Nicias*, we might compare the details of Andocides' imprisonment in *Alcibiades* (*Alc.* 20.6–21.6). That is not wholly irrelevant to Alcibiades' story: it is interesting to see another aristocrat acting with a similar self-seeking shrewdness and concern to save his own skin. But that relevance is still pretty slight, and we can hardly doubt that the length of the item is partly conditioned by Plutarch's desire to fill out a story where Thucydides (as Plutarch himself comments³) was oddly reticent about naming names. The same perhaps goes for that marvellous nest of stories in *Pericles*, when he comes to discuss the Megarian Decree and the outbreak of the war (*Per.* 29–33). Many of the stories suggest highly personal motives on Pericles' part, and suggest them at length. True, Plutarch is reluctant to commit himself to their accuracy or relevance;⁴ they are mere *λεγόμενα*. But even their mention, especially at such length, sits uncomfortably with the characterization he has developed of Pericles, this man with such grand spirit and unselfishness, so far above the normal pettiness of public life. Still, the stories were not in Thucydides, and they were good ones: Plutarch saw no reason to resist the temptation to include them.

II

So Plutarch would welcome non-Thucydidean material, but it is often a delicate problem to disentangle precisely what is owed to Thucydides and what comes from elsewhere. The account of the Sicilian Expedition in *Nicias* affords a particularly clear example of the issue and its difficulties. It is quite evident that Plutarch knows Thucydides at first hand,⁵ and that most of his information is drawn directly from Thucydides' text. It is equally clear that Plutarch does have some extraneous non-Thucydidean material, which is sometimes quite detailed. It includes items such as the naming of

Demostratus in the great Athenian debate (12.6), various supernatural events (13, 14.5–7, 24.6–25.1), the mention of Laïs (15.4), the story of the death of Gongylus (19.7), some casualty-numbers (21.11), the activity of the ‘free youths’ in a sea-battle (24.2), the details of the final debate on the Athenian prisoners (28), and a fair amount of information on the Syracusan reaction to Gylippus (19.3–7, 28.3–4).

Nicias 1 (above, p. 10) makes it an easy guess that the new material is largely owed to Timaeus and Philistus, both of whom he quotes twice (19.5–6, 28.4–5); and that derivation seems fairly secure, even though he clearly had other information as well—Philochorus, for instance (23.8), even in a way Euripides (17.4), or simply general cultural knowledge (15.2, 23). In some cases an item’s provenance can be traced in detail. Thus Philistus *FGrH* 556 F 53 described Demosthenes’ death along the lines of Plutarch’s account at *Nic.* 28, whereas Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 24 made something of Laïs (cf. *Nic.* 15.4). It is natural too to suspect that the omens and portents are owed to Timaeus, given the taste for such things observed at *Nic.* 1.2–3; also probably the material on Gylippus, in whom Timaeus was clearly interested (Plutarch cites him on this topic at 19.5 and 28.4).⁶ Some of this extraneous material also shows some contact with Diodorus; not that this can help to establish its source, for the current state of Diodoran source-criticism is far too confused.⁷ This contact, moreover, is sometimes a little vague. Diodorus too, for instance, mentions the ‘free youths’, but tells the story in the context of a different battle (13.14.4); he too has many non-Thucydidean numbers, but in the particular case of *Nic.* 21.11 his figure is slightly different (13.11.5, 2500 against Plutarch’s 2000); like Plutarch, he makes something of Ariston of Corinth in a non-Thucydidean setting, but the context is not the same (13.10.2, *Nic.* 25.4). The Syracusan proposal at *Nic.* 28.2 looks like the same tradition as Diodorus 13.19.4, but again there are some mild divergences. The most economical explanation might be that Plutarch, following his usual practice,⁸ has only one source ‘open in front of him’, here Thucydides, and supplements that source from his memory of other writers, doubtless a memory primed by recent rereading. That would explain why he might transplant some material into a slightly different context,⁹ and perhaps why he slightly misremembered a proposal or a figure.¹⁰

On a rough count, rather over half of *Nic.* 12–29 seems to come straightforwardly from Thucydides, but the extraneous, non-Thucydidean material is especially full at the beginning, particularly

ch. 13 with its rich fund of omens and portents (perhaps from Timaeus); in the discussion of the eclipse at ch. 23, applying some information about the 413 eclipse itself (for instance the item from Philochorus, 23.7–8) and also a good deal of general cultural and scientific knowledge; and in the final scenes at chs 28–9. The ‘hardcore’ narrative of the campaign itself, chs 14–22 and 23–7, is rather more distinctively Thucydidean. Often we find fairly close verbal echoes,¹¹ and the entire narrative articulation follows Thucydides’ account with suggestive closeness. Another rough count gives over two-thirds of this hard-core narrative closely from Thucydides, with less than a quarter clearly extraneous, and about 10 per cent of marginal material—material which *could* be inference, sometimes fairly extravagant inference, from Thucydides’ account, but might also be drawn from, or at least influenced by, Plutarch’s other sources.

These marginal instances make some interesting test-cases. Some can clearly be inferences from Thucydides, or elaborations of his account, which were well within Plutarch’s range:¹² the summary of Syracusan topography, for instance (17.2); or the vivid detail that ‘some were already making their way’ towards the crucial Syracusan assembly to discuss surrender (18.12, cf. Thuc. 7.2.1); or the inference that the valuables in the Olympieion (χρηματα at Thuc. 6.70.4) were ‘gold and silver dedications’ (16.7)—after all, what else would one expect to find in a temple?

Equally, he was surely able to make up his own mind about Nicias’ strengths and weaknesses, and the elegant criticism of 14.1–2 looks very much like Plutarch’s own: it was one thing to oppose the expedition in Athens, but he should not have wrecked it by his apathy, always gazing wistfully homewards from his ship... Furthermore, we know from elsewhere that Plutarch readily made his points by reconstructing the reactions of onlookers, their praise or their criticism.¹³ No surprise, then, to find ‘the terror of the Syracusans and the incredulity of the Greeks’ at the speed and effectiveness of the circumvallation (17.2); or indeed ‘everyone’ criticizing Nicias for his poor strategy (16.9). The dismissive note he injects into a minor campaign can also be his own (15.3–4); so can his praise for Nicias’ swiftness when he finally turned to action (ibid.). He returns to the theme a few chapters later: ‘Nicias was himself present at most of the actions, forcing his ailing body on ...’ (18.1), then ‘struggling out of his sickbed’ to supervise the defence

after Lamachus has been killed: a picturesque and slightly generous inference from Thucydides 6.101–2, but one of which Plutarch was certainly capable. His Nicias indeed becomes a rather typed figure, the cautious general who is nevertheless swift and effective when he finally turns to action. Plutarch knew the type well enough, and at *Arat.* 10 he insists that this is a familiar human phenomenon; indeed, the type is rather a hallmark of Plutarch, distinctive enough to encourage a strong suspicion that here too it is he who is rewriting the material, just as at *Arat.* 10 he rewrites Polybius to produce this favourite figure.¹⁴

Yet even here a doubt must remain, for he clearly does have a secondary, non-Thucydidean source for Lamachus' death. The circumstantial detail of 18.3, the monomachy with Callicrates, is not from Thucydides, and indeed the whole character of the action is rather different: in Plutarch the Athenians are carried away by a success (18.2), in Thucydides Lamachus is hurrying to mend a reverse (6.101.5). It must be a possibility, though perhaps a small one, that the picturesque material about Nicias has the same provenance.

A similar, but more elaborate, problem is presented by the description of Nicias' final hours.

There were many terrible sights in the camp, but the most pitiful of all was Nicias himself. Ravaged by sickness, he was reduced against all dignity to the most meagre of food and the slightest of bodily provisions, at a time when he needed so much more because of his disease. Yet despite his weakness he carried on performing and enduring more than many of the healthy. It was clear to all that it was not for himself that he bore the toil, nor because he was clinging to life; it was for the sake of his men that he refused to give up hope. Others were forced by their terror and suffering into tears and lamentation, but if Nicias was ever driven to this, it was clearly because he was measuring the disgrace and dishonour of the expedition's outcome against the greatness and glory of what he had hoped to achieve. Nor was it only the sight of the man that was so moving. They also recalled his words and advice when he had warned against the expedition, and that made it even clearer how undeserved were his sufferings. They were dispirited too when they thought of the hopes they might place in Heaven, reflecting how this pious man, who had

performed so many religious duties with such great splendour,
 was faring no better than the lowest and humblest of his army.
 (Nic. 26.4–6)

At first sight that has little in common with Thucydides 7.75–7, yet surprisingly much *could* be inspired by that passage. Thucydides had dwelt on the agonized reflections of the men themselves, measuring their sufferings against their original hopes (75.2, 6–7): elsewhere too we find Plutarch transferring thoughts and actions from others to Nicias himself,¹⁵ and he may well be doing the same here, at the cost of a certain inconsequentiality.¹⁶ Thucydides had certainly emphasized the pitiful state of the camp, in a very visual register (75); the lamentations can certainly come from him, even though he did not develop the particular focus on Nicias. But even in Thucydides Nicias had at least been active, making his desperate speech of encouragement (77): the only hopes he could offer were weak ones, certainly, but that was scarcely his fault. He was alert and effective too in drawing up his army, 78.1. Yet Thucydides had also emphasized the disease: he indeed makes Nicias himself refer to it at 77.2, when he points out that he is weaker than his men. It was not difficult for Plutarch to infer that he ‘achieved and endured more than many of the healthy’, especially now that provisions would be so miserably deficient; nor, given Plutarch’s readiness to reconstruct how onlookers would have reacted, to guess how they admired him for such resilience. Thucydides’ Nicias had also spoken of ‘the hopes from Heaven’ and his own past religious dutifulness (77.2, 4): Plutarch could guess how his men would respond to that too. And, whatever precisely Thucydides had meant by it, he had famously commented on the undeserved horror of Nicias’ fate: *ἥκιστα δὲ ἄξιος ὢν τῶν γε ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο, δυστυχίας ἀφίκεσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νευομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν* ‘most unworthy of all the Greeks of my time to fall into such misfortune, when all his behaviour had been directed towards virtue’ (7.86.5). It was natural enough for Plutarch to transfer that reflection too to the men under his command; and in this *Life*, with its stress on Nicias’ religious observation, the shift from Thucydides’ ‘virtue’ into ‘piety’ was a very appropriate one. Of course, there *may* still have been a second source at play here: certainly Plutarch had such a source for the final scenes, and derived from it details of the

general's surrender and death. But there is suspiciously little sign of it here, and most is very likely Plutarch's own reading of Thucydides.

More questionable is one final example, the exchange of Nicias with Menander and Euthydemus.

Nicias was unwilling to fight a naval battle. Now that so great a fleet was sailing to their help, and Demosthenes was hurrying to them with his reinforcements, it would be sheer idiocy (he said) to fight with a smaller force and one which was so badly equipped. But Menander and Euthydemus, newly promoted to office, were eager to outdo the generals: they wanted to distinguish themselves before Demosthenes arrived, and to surpass anything that Nicias had managed. Their excuse was the prestige of the city, which they said would be wholly destroyed and besmirched if they refused battle with the Syracusan fleet.

(*Nic.* 20.5–6)

There is nothing like this in Thucydides, in whom Menander and Euthydemus remain fairly colourless creatures. Perhaps it comes from elsewhere. (Indeed, Diodorus has some non-Thucydidean material on differences of opinion within the Athenian army, though he concentrates more on the murmurings of the ordinary soldiers against their generals, 13.12.4, 18.1.) But one can again see how the item could come from a sensibly imaginative reading of Thucydides. Nicias was clearly being cautious, and eager to hand over the command: hence he would surely not want to fight in this interval before Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived. Yet the battle was fought anyway: why? It surely 'must have been' Menander and Euthydemus who brought it on, for motives that were not hard to guess. In fact, it will all be like the great initial debate at Athens, with Nicias unable to stand up to the thoughtless pressures of others for activity; it will be yet another instance where he is outmanoeuvred by ambitious and energetic leaders, just as before he had fallen foul of Cleon, Alcibiades, and Demostratus; earlier he had overborne his fellow-commander Lamachus (15), now he will himself be overborne in his turn, and activity now will turn out no less disastrously than inactivity then. Indeed, Nicias' own mistake in asking for new leaders, like so many of his actions, contributes in a paradoxical way to his downfall: that too fits a pattern which is familiar in this *Life*.¹⁷ It all in fact suits suspiciously well. That makes it natural to think that, here again,

Plutarch is heavily at work; and, very probably, heavily at work on Thucydides alone, with no extraneous material beyond his active imagination.¹⁸ The same goes for the continuation of the debate at 21.3–6, which is again very probably an imaginative elaboration of Thucydides' *πείσας τὸν τε Νίκιαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνάρχοντας*, Demosthenes 'persuading Nicias and his other colleagues', 7.43.1. But in both these cases 'very probably' is as far as we may go, and certainty is not possible.

III

Still, perhaps that need not matter, or at least matter much. Whether our sources or Plutarch's imagination furnished the non-Thucydidean material, we can be sure that such additions bring us very close to Plutarch's own preoccupations, and these will be the main subject of this chapter. Sometimes, as I have suggested, he may simply be supplementing Thucydides for the thrill of it. A point against Thucydides was a point worth scoring. But more often, as in the Menander and Euthydemus example, the points are more profound ones, and touch themes which are central to the *Life*—Nicias' uncertain touch with his fellow-commanders, and the catastrophic and self-destructive quality of his own request for their appointment.

It is indeed interesting to see where Plutarch includes material which is clearly non-Thucydidean, whether imaginative or authorized, for he does this with particular frequency at the most intense moments, those which would be most familiar to his readers. The Athenian decision to mount the expedition in the first place (where he adds the beautifully visual detail of young and old alike drawing their maps of Sicily in the dust, 12.1, cf. *Alc.* 17.4); the Night Battle; the Great Battle in the Harbour; the retreat and final scenes—all follow Thucydides a little less closely than we might have expected, and the close verbal echoes¹⁹ are seldom in such passages as these. Ironically, Plutarch's account of the naval battle of Actium is verbally closer to Thucydides' Great Harbour battle than the *Nicias* account of the Great Harbour itself.²⁰ In *Antony*, the allusion is a literary echo that adds gravity and resonance; in *Nicias*, it would have been obvious and banal. These of course were the parts where Thucydides was particularly inimitable. Plutarch could assume that his audience was familiar with Thucydides, especially these parts of Thucydides, and he was anxious to avoid a mere rehash.

That familiarity with Thucydides could be exploited in different ways. It can allow him to abbreviate complicated stories: ‘they were outmanoeuvred by Ariston the Corinthian helmsman in the matter concerning lunch, as Thucydides describes (τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἄριστον, ὡς εἶρηκε Θουκυδίδης), and were decisively defeated with many losses’ (*Nic.* 20.8). The audience will find this incomprehensible unless they firmly recall the Thucydidean original at 7.40:²¹ as so often, a quotation excuses or explains an abbreviation that would otherwise be unacceptable.²²

Other quotations are subtler. Let us consider a few cases in *Alcibiades*. That at 6.3 might here seem particularly odd:

Alcibiades was also very susceptible to pleasures: the unconventional nature of his everyday physical behaviour, mentioned by Thucydides, allows us to suspect this....

Why should Thucydides need to be quoted for this *παρὰνομία*?²³ Surely Alcibiades’ ‘susceptibility to pleasures’ was not really controversial? And *Synkrisis* 2.2 is scarcely less curious, quoting Thucydides for the tale of Alcibiades’ trick on the Spartan ambassadors. Why does Plutarch not simply refer back to his own narrative, where he has just told the tale (14)? In both cases the explanation is surely the same, that Thucydides’ manner is so familiar to his audience. He was not the man to bring in private *παρὰνομία* lightly, and would only do so if it impinged on public life: that indeed is precisely the point Thucydides is making at 6.15, the passage to which Plutarch here alludes (and a passage to which we shall return).²⁴ This gives particular weight to the point Plutarch is making. For this, suggestively, is precisely the context where Plutarch first talks about Alcibiades’ impact on public life. The passage continues:

Still, his flatterers seized hold of his desire for fame and his love of glory, and they thrust him into a premature ambition to do great things; they told him that as soon as he entered public life he would not only eclipse all the other generals and popular leaders, but even outstrip the power among the Greeks and the glory that Pericles enjoyed.

(*Alc.* 6.4)

If we remember the Thucydidean original, then the ironies become clearer: as Thucydides there brought out, Alcibiades indeed became

great and glorious—and yet his standing was wrecked by precisely the *παράνομία* that Plutarch has just mentioned, and the distaste and the tyrannical suspicions that this private outlandishness inspired. Later in the *Life* this will be an important theme, for Plutarch will bring out even more clearly than Thucydides how Alcibiades' private life wrecked his public career, not merely in the recall from Sicily but also in the shift of public opinion that led to his second exile.²⁵ The two strands that Plutarch is starting here, the dissolution and the ambition, will eventually come together disastrously; and, if we recall the Thucydidean passage, it reminds us how it happened. It is indeed more of an *allusion*, summoning up the reader's recollection of the original, than a straightforward supporting citation, and the point would be lost if his audience did not know its Thucydides well.

The story of the Spartan ambassadors is a similar but less complex example: the story of Alcibiades' trick seems far-fetched, but it is not just Plutarch's story, it is Thucydides', and in such an author it carries particular weight. In each case the quotation seems unnecessary, but it is the audience's familiarity with the original, and Thucydides' characteristic flavour, that gives them point.

IV

That audience familiarity is still relevant when we come to consider Plutarch's attitude to Thucydides' historical analyses. Just as he is chary of alluding to Thucydides' text at the most obvious and familiar moments, so he is reluctant to echo Thucydides' insights at the points where the audience would already know them: that would be too old-hat. He clearly knows Thucydides' suggestions of the importance of the generation gap in the great debate on Sicily, where Nicias tries to mobilize the older generation in his support, and Alcibiades successfully counters him (6.13.1, 18.6, cf. 24.3): yet at that point itself he does not echo them. Instead, he develops the analysis rather earlier in *Nicias*. Thus at 9.5 the 'older generation' are among those pressing for peace, whereas at 11.3 they form a separable group in the wranglings about the ostracism. Both passages would seem to prepare for the Sicilian debate, and given the audience's familiarity with Thucydides perhaps the preparation is felt; but, if it is, it is only by intertextuality, for when Plutarch himself reaches the debate he barely follows up the lead that he has so

strongly given. (The old are mentioned at *Nic.* 12.1, but are just as keen on the expedition as the young, drawing their maps in the sand: even less is made of them here than at *Alc.* 17.4.) He instead discusses what had happened to the rich, the εὐποροί, and why they failed in their support for Nicias (12.3). That point is evidently of wider significance in the pair *Nicias* and *Crassus*, where wealth is such an important theme, but is not quite what we were expecting.

We can see the same phenomenon in other *Lives*. For instance, Plutarch evidently knew Thucydides' insistence on Pericles' cautious strategy during the war itself; but in *Pericles* he prefers to develop the caution theme rather earlier, in treating his pre-war foreign policy.²⁶ When he reaches the point where we might expect it, he treats it rather skimpily (33.5–6, ignoring for instance the importance of the sea as the defensive lifeline which made the strategy possible in a protracted war). The same point could be made more widely about *Nicias* itself, if we consider Plutarch's treatment of Nicias' nervous and apprehensive unease before the *demos*. That theme is familiar from Thucydides 6 and 7; but Plutarch makes less of it in the Sicilian chapters than we might expect. At 19.6 he barely mentions the letter of 7.11–15; at 22.2–3 he does not conceal Nicias' famous preference to die in Sicily rather than as a convicted criminal at home (Thuc. 7.48.4), but he makes much less than we might expect of so disquieting an episode.²⁷ Nicias' behaviour is much more conditioned by his problems on the spot, especially (as we have seen) his wranglings with his fellow-commanders, than by his nervous glances back towards home. The nervousness before the *demos* certainly emerges in the *Life*, but again we find it in a different, more surprising place: it is strongly developed in the early chapters, where the theme would be much less obvious.²⁸ It is the *leitmotif* of the early summarizing passage at 2.2–6, where Plutarch comments that this very nervousness paradoxically contributed to Nicias' popularity, for the people are flattered by being feared. Then it is used to explain Nicias' choice of campaigns during the Archidamian War (6.1–2); in the Pylos debate he is then a rather meeker follower of the people's will than he was in Thucydides (7.1–5). This goes with a trivialization of his political thoughtfulness. In Thucydides on several occasions Nicias produces lines or ploys in assemblies which eloquently *misread* the people: so in the Pylos debate (4.28), so in the affair of the Spartan ambassadors (5.46), and so most spectacularly when he presses the assembly to increase the size of

the Sicilian expedition (6.19.2–24.2). Plutarch omits this last suggestive story, and here as elsewhere his Nicias does not misread or fail to gauge the popular temper; he is simply terrified of it. It is a comparatively crude reading, much cruder than in Thucydides.

V

It is also rather cruder than in Plutarch's other *Lives* of the period: as so often elsewhere, one can see Plutarch changing the detail of his political analysis to suit the texture of the individual *Life*.²⁹ In *Nicias* the people are a danger not just to Nicias, but to everyone;³⁰ they are not especially keen on Cleon either (2.3), and their taunts to him in the Pylos debate reflect a real menacing hostility, at least for the moment (7.2); they may laugh with him at the end, but they laugh just as they consign him to a mission in which they expect him to fail (7.6; cf. the similar malicious laughter after the *ostrakophoria* at 11.6, this time at Hyperbolus' expense). Then in the ostracism story itself the people 'were disgusted by Alcibiades and feared his overconfidence, as is made clearer in his own *Life*' (*Nic.* 11.2). Yet, despite the cross-reference, what *Alcibiades* in fact makes clear is something rather different from this 'disgust'. There we have a subtler picture, with the people fascinated by Alcibiades and indeed sharing much of his temper and style. They too are ambitious and volatile, and it is not surprising that they find his distinctive manner so engaging. These are the men who were so delighted when his quail escaped on his first public appearance, and bustled around helping him to catch it (*Alc.* 10.1–2): *demos* and demagogue suit one another, and this playfulness strikes a rather different note from the more taunting style of the *demos* that we saw in *Nicias*. The point is made clear in a more serious register when we reach the main central digressions, flanking the Sicilian chapters (16 and 23). The first discusses, precisely, what the Athenians made of Alcibiades, and presents a much more nuanced picture, one which brings out ambivalent fascination rather than that 'disgust and fear' of the *Nicias* summary.³¹ The second points out how skilful he was at accommodating his temper to the local style, whether he found himself in Sparta, Ionia, Persia, or Thrace: it is no surprise that such a man would chime in with Athens too—especially as this very versatility and flair were foremost among the traits that city and individual shared.

The tale of the Spartan ambassadors makes the point clearly. Both *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* make something of the *demos*, but in

very different ways. At *Nic.* 10.8 Nicias returns from his Spartan mission ‘fearing the Athenians, resentful and indignant as they were that he had persuaded them to give up so many good men’ (those captured on Sphacteria); at *Alc.* 14.8 Alcibiades tells the Spartan envoys, ‘don’t you see how the *demos* is proud and ambitious, eager for great deeds...’ (μέγα φρονεῖ καὶ μεγάλων ὀρέγεται). Both passages are expansions, presumably imaginative expansions, of Thucydides; and in each the treatment of the *demos* is what it needs to be, especially as the Sicilian expedition looms. In *Nicias* the *demos* is simply a grave brooding body, meet to be feared by any politician; in *Alcibiades* its ambition, pride, and confidence are in point. No surprise then that in *Alcibiades*, but not in *Nicias*, we hear of their prior interest in Sicily, even in Pericles’ day and during the Archidamian War (*Alc.* 17.1). Such far-flying ambitions are a long-standing feature of Athens, not just one injected momentarily by Alcibiades, and in this *Life* we need to know it. Here we see how the style of the man meshes with the style of the *demos*, how his flair strikes the right note with them: more needs to be explained here than in *Nicias*, and the analysis is correspondingly richer. It is also crucial to one of the most pleasing reverses of the *Life*. For all Alcibiades’ chameleon-like changeability, it is the people who with great fickleness turn against him, and try to recall him from Sicily; and he responds with faithlessness to Athens, and turns to Sparta. But then he returns, only to confront a *demos* (this time the one in Samos) eager to turn against their own fellow-citizens, and play into Spartan hands, rather as he had once done himself; and he shows great constancy and leadership in arguing them out of it (*Alc.* 26). Treachery is now afoot in Athens itself, while he is the constant patriot: the tables are turned; but they can be turned so neatly because city and leader are so like one another, so deserve each other.

It is a thoughtful portrait. In some ways Plutarch owes its inspiration to Thucydides himself, who brought out how skilfully Alcibiades appealed to Athenian national characteristics—their enterprise, their self-confidence, their pride; and his Nicias knows that ‘my rhetoric may be too weak to confront your nature’, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀσθενὴς ἂν μου ὁ λόγος εἴη (6.9.3). But Plutarch cares about it enough to feel he can revise Thucydides himself to make the analysis even more intricate. The crucial passages in Thucydides are 5.43.2 and especially (once again) 6.15.4, where he discusses the popular reaction to Alcibiades:

φοβηθέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα παρανομίας ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν καὶ τῆς διανοίας ὧν καθ' ἕνασπον ἐν ὧ γίγνεται ἐπρασεν, ὡς τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμοῦντι πολέμιοι καθέστασαν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ κράτιστα διαθέντι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστοι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες, καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέψαντες, οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔσφηλαν τὴν πόλιν.

general people were frightened both by the massive lawlessness of his private, physical life and habits, and of the massive spirit with which he carried through everything he did; they consequently became his enemies, thinking that he was aspiring to tyranny. He managed public events excellently, but everyone became individually disgruntled with his manner as a person; thus they entrusted affairs to others—and before long brought the city down.

The last point is especially suggestive, with everyone becoming ‘individually disgruntled with his manner as a person’. That fits a favourite Thucydidean theme, the way in which private and personal aspirations, even egoism, come to interact in an increasingly perilous way with the Athenian democracy:³² Nicias and Alcibiades both fit that pattern with their selfish preoccupations, and so in a different way do the people themselves, allowing their private reactions (ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστοι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες) to compromise their perceptions of public competence. On both sides we are a long way removed from the Funeral Speech, where the individual reaches the highest fulfilment in Athens, precisely in the service of the state.

But Thucydides’ picture is still a disturbingly blunt one. *Everyone* individually disgruntled with Alcibiades’ private habits: that is rather closer to the rough picture of *Nicias*, where people were disgusted by Alcibiades’ private life and feared his over-confidence, than to the emphasis that Plutarch prefers in *Alcibiades* itself. As we have seen, in the important ch. 16 of *Alcibiades* Plutarch goes to some lengths to characterize the ambivalent but basically affectionate reaction of the *demos* towards him; we can recognize the same *demos* who earlier helped him catch his quail. In 16.2 it is the ‘highly-regarded’, the ἔνδοξοι, rather than the *demos* as a whole who ‘feel disgust’ (βδελύττεσθαι, the same word as at *Nic.* 11.2), and fear his ‘unconventional behaviour’ (παρανομία) as ‘tyrannical and outrageous’ (τυραννικὰ καὶ ἀλλόκοτα). The echo of Thucydides is

clear, but also its transformation, as Plutarch limits this reaction to one section of the city, the *ἔνδοξοι* alone.³³ He goes on to explain that the popular attitude requires closer definition. He first sums it up with the line of Aristophanes, ‘it yearns for him, it hates him, it wants to have him’ (16.2, quoting *Frogs* 1425): they were as indulgent as they could be to his excesses—though *the older generation* were, once again, unhappy with them ‘as tyrannical and unconventional’ (ὥς τυραννικοῖς καὶ παρανόμοις). The conclusion is most measured: ‘so unclearly defined (ἄκριτος) was opinion concerning him because of the inconsistencies of his nature’; and once again the phrasing points to that way in which people’s veering reactions to Alcibiades strangely mirror the man’s own qualities. And, as we have seen, it will later be the combination of the two, changeable people and changeable Alcibiades, that will produce such a catastrophic mix.

So Plutarch is turning Thucydides, and doing so subtly. He is echoing him; he is even introducing cross-divisions of the *demos* that rest on Thucydides himself, elsewhere in his work—especially that ‘older generation’ division, where he teases out the implications of the speakers’ argumentation during the debate itself (above, p. 19). He is thus using Thucydides to ‘correct’, or at least refine, Thucydides’ own portrait; and the reinterpretation is surely not unintelligent. As with his judgments of people, so even in political analysis, he is capable of applying his human insight thoughtfully, and on such occasions he is confident enough to pit his own judgments even against Thucydides; and those interpretations are sometimes not at all bad. He similarly wins our respect when he puts more weight than Thucydides on the religious aspects of the popular reactions to the scandals of the Hermae and the Mysteries. For Thucydides the Hermae affair ‘served as an omen for the expedition’ (6.27.3), but that is very brief, and he dwells much more on the way people interpreted the affairs politically, as a pointer to tyranny. Plutarch brings out both aspects, the political fears and the nervy religious atmosphere, in a more even-handed way (*Alc.* 18.4–8 and *Nic.* 13). And, great though the respect is that we rightly have for Thucydides, it is hard to be confident that Plutarch was wrong.

In *Alcibiades*, then, ‘literary’ and ‘historical’ aspects go hand in hand. Plutarch traces the popular reaction to Alcibiades with more subtlety than Thucydides, and this renders his analysis both more historically interesting and more artistically arresting. In *Nicias* we do not need so subtle a picture of the *demos*, and so we do not get it: that indeed is a further reason why the interest in the Athenian

demos is so strangely muted in the second half of the *Life*. Basically, the interest is crude enough that it soon becomes played out, with little more to say. And it is not just that Plutarch makes less here than we might expect of Nicias' nervousness before the people; it would also have been possible enough for him to continue themes from the *demos* chapters in treating the way Nicias handled his soldiers, the Athenian *demos* as represented in the army. That, indeed, is more or less what Thucydides does himself, giving one or two hints of Nicias' misreading the troops just as he misread the people at home;³⁴ yet Plutarch fails to pick up these suggestions.

In *Pericles* we have a more complicated case. Once again we have a very insistent interest in tracing how the dominant individual and the *demos* interact; once again, indeed, we have something of the same effect as in *Alcibiades*, for we can see how Pericles contrives to instil in the *demos* something of his own qualities, especially his spirit and pride. Consider ch. 17, for instance. Pericles is here beginning to establish his own peculiar brand of great leadership. He has driven out Thucydides son of Melesias, and can now give up that awkward period of sheer demagoguery which came so unnaturally to him (παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἥκιστα δημοτικὴν οὖσαν, 7.3). So now he incited the people ἔτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων αὐτὸν ἀξιούν πραγμάτων (17.1), 'to feel even more pride and confidence and to think itself worthy of great deeds'. The invitation to the Panhellenic Congress follows, and Plutarch rounds off the chapter by saying τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, 17.4: 'I have added this as an indication of *his* pride and confidence and greatness of spirit'. That is elegant ring-composition, as Stadter notes on 17.1, with φρόνημα picking up φρονεῖν and μεγαλοφροσύνην picking up both μέγα φρονεῖν and μεγάλων πραγμάτων; but ring-composition with a difference, for what were at the chapter's beginning the qualities he instilled in the *demos* are by its end the qualities that typify Pericles himself. The *demos* and the *demagogos* are again like one another. And in *Pericles* too the theme comes back later, again with piquant ironies. At 33.4 it is the people's pride and confidence—φρόνημα again, the word so often associated with Pericles himself³⁵—that leads them to be so eager to fight when Archidamus invades, and this of course causes Pericles particular problems. He eventually has to revert to some of his old demagogic methods to suppress this quality which in the past he has so encouraged: now he has to distribute money and send out a few juicy cleruchies (34.2).³⁶

So in *Pericles*, just as in *Alcibiades*, characterization of the *demos* is important; but here, at least in the first part of the *Life*, one does not feel the same admiration for the subtlety of the re-emphasis or the new political analysis. Indeed, in *Per.* 7–14 (the period when Pericles was acting unnaturally, *παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν*), Plutarch's stress on Athenian two-party politics is at its crudest: on the one side, the hybriatic and irresponsible *demos*; on the other, the well-meaning and long-suffering *oligoi*.³⁷ It is all much cruder than it was in *Alcibiades* or even in *Nicias*, where Plutarch had insisted on those subtler cross-divisions of the *demos*. In some ways that is a simple matter of historical development and change, for Plutarch did indeed think that politics changed after 443, with the double split becoming less fierce and less decisive (*Per.* 15.1, cf. 11.3). But it is more telling that the two-party analysis is here hedged around with fewer refinements or qualifications than in the earlier, and really rather slight, *Cimon*.³⁸ Whatever Plutarch is trying to do here, it is not to produce a political analysis of the greatest possible depth.

Yet here too one can understand why this should be, for the polarity of Athenian politics is important to him. It is a central concern of this *Life* to explain why an aristocrat like Pericles, with so much education and a *φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ἐμβριθέστερον* (a 'spirit too weighty for demagogy', 4.6, cf. 5.1), should have ended as the leader of a militant democracy, the most effective demagogue of them all. Here there was that bemusing clash between the judgments of the revered Plato and the revered Thucydides, as Gomme remarked in a famous passage;³⁹ it is true that Plutarch shows no hesitation in preferring Thucydides,⁴⁰ but it is also true that the disagreement was bound to give him pause. Such demagogy would evidently not have come naturally to Pericles, who would have been more at home in a Cleisthenic mode (that is one reason why the political settlement of Pericles' ancestor is mentioned and praised at 3.2). Plutarch wants to develop, precisely, the contrast between the two sides, the side where Pericles naturally belonged and the side where he unnaturally found himself: the basically sound conservatives and the basically unsound *demos* and demagogues. The temptation to present the contrast in as sharp and polarized a manner as possible was hard to resist;⁴¹ and in 7–14 we duly see the polarity at its starkest, for that is where Pericles finds himself with the demagogues, where he does not belong. That in its turn gives especial bite to 15, where we see the harmony with which he reconciles the two sides, and takes further⁴² that distinctive grand

style that combines elements of both approaches, stirring and pleasing the *demos* but also responsibly leading them in the right direction—a direction that, as we have seen, finally brought them to share many of the best traits of Pericles himself, especially that distinctive *φρόνημα*.⁴³ That harmonious combination seems all the more striking for the lack of qualification with which the polarity had earlier been presented. Thus, for instance, the popularity of Cimon sits well in *Cimon* itself, where it crudely redounds to Cimon's credit;⁴⁴ but the theme would intrude upon the neat two-party schematism that the *Pericles* portrait demands.

VI

Mme de Romilly has splendidly brought out the way in which Plutarch adapts Thucydides to suit his own biographical focus and interest.⁴⁵ I have had little to say about this here, but of course her basic point remains important and valid. Plutarch does stress aspects of character far more than Thucydides; not that Thucydides regarded personal character as unimportant, for it mattered considerably (for instance) that Pericles was incorruptible, *χρημάτων χειρῶν* (2.60.5, 65.8); but that emphasis is significantly expanded in Plutarch, who finds enough material on the topic to fill more than a chapter (*Per.* 15.3–16.9, cf. *Fab.* 30(3).5–6). And, naturally enough, Plutarch is less concerned to weave his characters' experience into a more global picture of Athenian life. In Stadter's words, "Thucydides was interested in power, not character, and clear understanding, not temperament, so that the tone of Plutarch's account often belies its Thucydidean origin";⁴⁶ perhaps an overstatement (Thucydides could be interested in character too), but only a slight one.

To extend the analysis to *Nicias*, one could summarize by saying that Nicias is a quite different sort of 'tragic' figure for the two authors. For Thucydides, the tragedy in which Nicias is implicated is far larger than his own. The reasons for Athens' reverse are more complicated, and we must start with points about Athens rather than points about Nicias. At most, Nicias' personality plays a part in a much larger pattern and causal sequence; it is against this larger background that we must note and comprehend his individual self-seeking preoccupations, and his inability to recapture more than a part of the talents of a Pericles. He has a Periclean strategic caution, perhaps, but he does not have the flair, nor the ability to attract and

harness the Athenian civic sensibilities: those are the qualities that descend to Alcibiades, not to Nicias. But there are several themes here that are fundamental to Thucydides' larger picture of Athens' development: the growing stress on the individual rather than the city;⁴⁷ the failure, but perhaps the inevitable failure, of Pericles' successors to secure the remarkable balance of varying qualities that had typified Pericles himself; the difficulties of carrying through a policy of Periclean restraint in a city marked by Periclean confidence and civic pride. Nicias falls, and it matters that he falls in a particularly stirring and undeserved way. But to explain that fall we go back to that larger pattern, the analysis why Athens was the way it was; and we have to understand how such an individual figure fits into a city of that character, and at that particular stage of its disintegrating destiny.

In Plutarch the tragedy is much more personal. Nicias' own actions and character encompass his own destruction; in a sense that was true in Thucydides as well, but in Plutarch the pattern is much tighter, and much less dependent on a distinctive and subtle analysis of the character of the city itself. In Plutarch it is Nicias' very nervousness that gives him the popularity which wins him commands (2): that same nervousness that will later condemn him to failure, in the greatest command of all. His involuntary strengthening of Cleon's authority creates the political conditions that he will be unable to manage (8). Then, in the ostracism story, Plutarch stresses that his agreement with Alcibiades was precisely what leads to the downfall in Sicily: if either Nicias or Alcibiades had been ostracized instead of Hyperbolus, it would all have been so different (11.9).⁴⁸ In the Sicilian debate it is then Nicias' ostentatious caution that gives the Athenians the confidence that, with such a man in charge, it could not go wrong (12.5). It does all go wrong, of course; but it does so because of Nicias' own decisions and policies that all go into reverse, all fall back on his own head. This is indeed distinctively Nicias' tragedy, not simply (as in Thucydides) an Athenian tragedy in which Nicias plays an elegant and pathetic part.

So, as de Romilly stresses, the biographical focus is vitally important. But it is still possible to overstate this; and, in particular, there is a real danger of underestimating the subtlety of Plutarch's own political analyses.

In the passages we have considered, everything was centred for Thucydides on the behaviour and fate of Athens, but for

Plutarch on the behaviour and fate of the individuals he was writing about.

Thus de Romilly;⁴⁹ but even for the passages she discussed (centring, for instance, on the nature of Pericles' authority, or the popular response to Alcibiades) this is a considerable overstatement. Indeed, this formulation tends to diminish both authors, for in both Thucydides and Plutarch it is the *interrelation* between individuals and city that is so often stressed. In Thucydides the fate of Athens is itself bound up with the changing ways in which individuals behave, and in which individualism and public duty come to clash; in Plutarch the individuals' fate is so often traced in, precisely, their relationship with the Athenian *demos*. For de Romilly, 'poor Plutarch' typically loses the intellectual centre of Thucydides' analyses; if there is force in the arguments presented here, then at least he replaces them with some analyses of his own which carry a genuine intellectual interest and depth.

That interest in the relationship of individual and *demos* can be seen even in *Themistocles*, not on the whole one of Plutarch's most thoughtful or incisive *Lives*, and one where the manipulation of material to give a biographical focus is often rather crude. There is little, for instance, on the background to the exchanges of Themistocles with Aristides (3.1–3, 5.7, 11.1), or even to Xerxes' invasion (the slight and anecdotal quality of ch. 6 is very striking); after Salamis, once Themistocles' own part is completed, the Persian Wars are dismissed with astonishing perfunctoriness (17.2);⁵⁰ Themistocles' role in building the Athenian *empire* is hardly treated at all, and the relevant chapters (17–22 on the early 470s) are notoriously skimpy. But one aspect of Themistocles' relations with Athens is given some stress, and with a vein of moral unease that sits oddly in so uncensorious (even bland) a *Life*: Plutarch here again emphasizes the way in which Themistocles contributed to the pattern of two-party strife. Fifty years later it would be Pericles who would calm matters and bring the city to a sort of harmony, but now it is Themistocles who does so much to bring the rift about, by his policy of changing the *demos* into sailors (4.4–6, 19.3–6).⁵¹ The consequence is an unintended one, and simply flows from a step that was necessary to bring salvation. Athens had to become naval, and Plutarch knew it. But he also insists on the unfortunate nature of this consequence. That emphasis sits oddly in the *Life*, and is eloquent

of this recurrent Plutarchan interest in the relationship between the great man and the *demos* he leads.

VII

That brings us to two final points. If we try to explain this slightly odd emphasis in *Themistocles*, we should certainly relate it to the paired *Life*, the *Camillus*, where party strife is again a basic theme. The Struggle of the Orders there furnishes the political background against which Camillus works; and Camillus is in fact rather ineffective in calming this atmosphere of fierce factional antagonism. In each case the political strife provides a suggestive counterpoint to the military world in which Themistocles and Camillus both excel. As generals or admirals they earn our praise; but in politics moral judgement is much more difficult and delicate. This is hardly the most successful of Plutarch's pairs, but even here the pairing matters greatly.⁵²

And indeed it is clear that many of the points made in this chapter are really points about pairs rather than individual *Lives*. *Fabius*, the pair of *Pericles*, also develops a crudely two-party view of politics, with Minucius and Varro very much stage demagogues; but Fabius manages the problem less successfully than Pericles. In *Crassus*, the pair of *Nicias*, the political analysis is again cruder than in many of the other *Lives* of the late Republic, just as *Nicias* is cruder than *Alcibiades*. *Coriolanus*, the pair of *Alcibiades*, also has a fickle and volatile *demos* which takes a lot of handling; it is far too hot for Coriolanus to handle, in fact. But in his case that is because he is so *out of tune* with them. Alcibiades is so different, accomplished, educated, stylish, deft; and he is as like the *demos* as Coriolanus is unlike. Yet eventually he cannot handle them any more successfully; he too is driven to give himself to the other side, the ἄγριοι (albeit more fleetingly, 25.5–6, 26.1); and just as surely he falls. It is an extremely subtle pair, and one where the reversal of the normal Greek-Roman ordering is particularly elegant: first we have the simple case of Coriolanus, then the much more complex one of Alcibiades.⁵³

Finally, it is striking that this marvellous pair connects two people of whom Plutarch rather disapproved. If we are to speak of 'positive' and 'negative' *Lives*, those that are protreptic and those that are deterrent, these would certainly be negative and deterrent. But those positive-negative distinctions never really work. Plutarch can engage sympathetically with an Alcibiades, and try to work out why such a

man is interesting and why, for all his qualities, he nevertheless finally falls. In a quite different way, Plutarch's use of Thucydides can illuminate this question too, for it highlights certain points about his choice of heroes.⁵⁴ Take the case of Cleon, for instance. Plutarch evidently had enough information to write a *Life*; most of it was afforded by Thucydides himself, and Old Comedy and other sources (especially Theopompus) would have furnished some useful supplementation.⁵⁵ He even had a pair on offer, Clodius, on whom he often waxes so eloquent; indeed, when writing of Clodius he several times borrows phraseology from the Greek demagogue stereotype, and particularly from Cleon himself.⁵⁶ Why, then, did he not write a *Cleon*? The question has only to be asked for the answer to be clear. Plutarch disapproved of Cleon so strongly, and had so crude a view of the character of the man and of the authority he exercised, that he could not do anything at all interesting with him. He needed that degree of sympathetic involvement to produce a worthwhile biography; and that is what he could generate about a Nicias or an Alcibiades or an Antony, despite all his moral reservations.

If there is anything in the argument of this chapter, he often extended a similar sympathetic understanding even to the Athenian *demos*, despite a similar degree of reservation about its fickleness and its violence; and that sympathetic involvement was the source of some of his most interesting deviations from Thucydides. Some of those deviations certainly trivialize, as de Romilly stresses; others doubtless intrude contemporary assumptions and ideas that can only distort, as perhaps in his treatment of Pericles' building programme, or of Cimon's liberality.⁵⁷ But some are much more interesting. If Plutarch stresses Pericles' rhetorical charm, warmth, and personal relationships as much as his insight as a source of his authority (a point made clearly by de Romilly); or if he stresses religious as much as political elements as the important background to the affairs of the Hermae and the Mysteries; or if he brings out the complexity of the popular reaction to Alcibiades: his view in all these cases is an interesting one, and well worth serious consideration even in modern terms. That is not necessarily because his views rest on contemporary authority, or at least not in a straight-forward way.⁵⁸ It is because they rest on his human insight, a profound and impressive insight that, at least on some occasions, is likely to have got it pretty well right.

NOTES

- 1 This paper owes its origin to a discussion with Frances Titchener, during a delightful visit to Utah State University in April 1989; my thanks to her, and to others who have read and discussed its content, especially Simon Hornblower, Judith Mossman, and Philip Stadter.
- 2 I have discussed Plutarch's commitment to historical truth more extensively in Pelling 1990; cf. esp. 25–6, where I consider more fully the out-of-the-way evidence Plutarch contrives to include in *Nicias*, and suggest that he prefers this approach to extracting every last ounce from Thucydides' own account. For Plutarch's taste for inscriptions and documents, cf. now Stadter 1989, pp. lxix–lxxi.
- 3 *Alc.* 20.6, τοὺς δὲ μηνύσαντας ὁ μὲν Θουκυδίδης ὀνομάσαι παρήκεν, ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι Διοκλείδαν καὶ Τεύκρον.
- 4 *Per.* 30.1, Λέγουσι (Polyalces' advice to turn the decree to the wall); 30.2, ὥς ἔοικεν (of Pericles' private animosity against the Megarians); 30.3, ἔδοξε (of Anthemocritus' suspicious death); 30.4, 'the Megarians' τὰς αἰτίας εἰς Ἀσπασίαν καὶ Περικλέα τρέπουσι; 31.1, τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ὅπως ἔσχεν οὐ ῥάδιον γνῶναι, of the reasons for the Megarian decree (but everyone blames Pericles for not rescinding it); 31.2, the Pheidias story is the most damaging and the best attested; 32.6, αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰτίαι, δι' ἃς οὐκ εἴασεν ἐνδοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν δῆμον, αὐταὶ λέγονται· τὸ δ' ἄληθές ἄδηλον; *Fab.* 30(3).1, λέγεται γὰρ (the war) ἐπακτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου γενέσθαι; cf. the earlier αἰτιῶνται at 25.1, of the alleged part of Aspasia in stimulating war against Samos.
- 5 If argument for this was needed, it was provided adequately and extensively a century ago by Siemon 1881, esp. pp. 28–51 on *Nic.*; cf. Littman 1970; Lauritano 1957; Marasco 1976, especially 8–9; and, briefly on the general issue, Stadter 1989, pp. lx–lxi, and de Romilly 1988. I regret that I have not seen Tzannetatos 1958. Plutarch quotes Thucydides often in the *Moralia*, and in such a way as to suggest intimate knowledge of the text and its style; that is also the implication of *Nic.* 1 (above, p. 10), as well as of the many verbal echoes. The last influential attempt to deny Plutarch direct knowledge of Thucydides was that of Levi 1955, 159–95, but that rested on a very low view of Plutarch's capacity to combine different sources. Levi ended by postulating 'una fonte che ha potuto confrontare il testo di Timeo con quelli di Tucidide e di Filisto' (177), marked by 'l'interesse filosofico, moralistico e scientifico' (180, though there he does allow that Plutarch's own interests may have affected his presentation), and writing some centuries after the events (180). It is hard to find a better description of Plutarch himself, and it is evidently more economical to suppose that he has himself combined the different strands of source-material.
- 6 Timaeus is quoted specifically for the initial Syracusan dismissiveness towards Gylippus, and their later discovery and disapproval of his financial irregularities. That need not preclude admiration for his generalship (so, rightly, Brown 1958, 66, *contra* e.g. Lauritano 1957, 118–19); Timaeus clearly stressed that Gylippus was important in attracting allies and support, as Plutarch himself brings out (19.5), and the two emphases

- need not be contradictory. Nor need it preclude the possibility that Plutarch derived other information concerning Gylippus from the same source, the mockery of the Athenian soldiers (19.4), or the final hostility of the Syracusans when he suggested taking the Athenian generals alive to the Peloponnese (28.2). In each case those items come just before the specific Timaeus citations, but the citations need not, as often claimed, point to a change of source. They simply indicate that the new information is more striking and perhaps more questionable, so that the critical reader stands more in need of knowing its provenance. On both these points Meister (1967, 64–5 and 1970) goes astray.
- 7 For relatively recent treatments cf. Meister's dissertation and article (1967 and 1970); Pédech 1980. Both build heavily on very weak assumptions about the flavour of Timaeus and Philistus, and equally weak assumptions about Diodorus' technique (on which see now J.Hornblower 1981, ch. 2, esp. pp. 49–63; Sacks 1990).
 - 8 If my argument in Pelling 1979 is correct. Here of course it is also possible that Diodorus followed a similar procedure, and at least some of the divergences are owed to his misrememberings; the two explanations need not be mutually exclusive.
 - 9 As suggested by Stern 1884, 441, 444–5.
 - 10 But the case of the figure might be simply rounding (though '2500' strikes one as round enough); or perhaps the result of some textual corruption, possibly in Plutarch or Diodorus, possibly in a text used by one or the other.
 - 11 Cf. especially the pairs 14.3 and 6.49.1, 16.1 (6.63.3), 16.2 (6.64.3), 16.8 (6.75.2), 18.5 (6.102.2), 18.9 (6.104.1), 19.3 (7.3.1), 19.9 (7.7.4), 21.1 (7.42.1), 21.2 (7.42.2), 21.7 (7.43.5), 26.1 (7.73.3), 26.2 (7.74.2), 27.9 (7.87.5).
 - 12 This assertion of course depends on a general view of Plutarch's capacity to rewrite his material. That cannot be argued here, but for attempts to analyse his technique in other *Lives* see Russell 1963 and my own essays, Pelling 1980 and 1990.
 - 13 On this see my commentary on *Antony* (Pelling 1988a), index s. v. 'characterisation by reaction'.
 - 14 See Pelling 1988b, at 264–7.
 - 15 So at 16.2, where Nicias sends the man from Catana on his missions, and at 19.4, where he makes no response to Gylippus' peace-offer; at Thuc. 6.64.1–2 it was 'the generals', at 7.3.1–2 'the Athenians'. At 18.7 Nicias himself transiently turns to hope; at Thuc. 6.103.3 it was the Athenians. Syracusan high morale in Thucydides (7.41.4) becomes Nicias' low morale at 20.8. A non-Thucydidean example may be 20.5, where 'Nicias' decides not to fight before Demosthenes arrives; Diodorus 13.10.1 has a similar item, but talks of 'the Athenians'. Cf. Marasco 1976, 17. In none of these cases is Plutarch being irresponsible. In view of his stress on Nicias' authority (15.1), a decision of 'the generals' amounted to one of Nicias himself, and by 19.4 he is the only general left. In that passage his disdain for Gylippus' peace-offer anyway required an explanation, and so did the ease with which Gylippus slipped through the blockade (18.11–12); and that explanation could naturally be in terms of Nicias'

sharing his men's sanguinity. Commander and men are, this time, at one. And it would be odd if Nicias were *not* dispirited at 20.8: *ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ῥώμη τις* at 7.42.2 confirms the unsurprising fact that depression had filled the Athenian army too. In none of all this need we see any source beyond Thucydides (*pace* Levi 1955, esp. 174, 176–7, 179, 181).

- 16 In *ὦν ἤλπιζε κατορθώσειν*, 26.5: even if *ἤλπιζε* is there interpreted more as 'hope' than 'expect', the emphasis is still an odd one, given Nicias' persistently dispirited view of the chances of success. The similar transfer at 18.7 (preceding note) leads to a parallel inconsequence: Nicias would seem to be the last man to be distracted by such irrational hopes, and *παρὰ φύσιν* at 18.11 acknowledges the awkwardness. But the catastrophic pattern is still worth the discomfort. Nicias' transient hopefulness is as unfortunate in its consequences as his more usual depression. Cf. below, p. 28.
- 17 See below, p. 28.
- 18 It is normally assumed without question that Plutarch must have a source for this: cf. e.g. Stern 1884, 442–3, 448–9; Busolt 1899, 293; Pédech 1980, 1725–6. All made more than they should of the contact with Diodorus. Marasco 1976, 159–60, sensibly leaves it open whether Plutarch derives the matter from a source or from 'his own reflection'. Littman 1970, 230–1, assumes that it is an elaboration of Thucydides; that is welcome, for he does not normally allow Plutarch such freedom of elaboration (e.g. in the case of Menander and Euthydemus he argues that Plutarch's extra detail is drawn from Philistus, pp. 212–13).
- 19 Above, n. 11.
- 20 Cf. *Ant.* 66.3, 77.4 with the notes in my commentary (Pelling 1988a); the wording of *Nic.* 25 is more distant.
- 21 This is brought out plainly by Frances Titchener in her forthcoming commentary on *Nicias*; cf. also Lauritano 1957, 112 and Marasco 1976, ad loc.
- 22 That is particularly clear with Plutarch's cross-referential *self-quotations*: cf. Stoltz 1929, 43–55.
- 23 Russell 1966, 40–1 points out the oddity, and explains that Thucydides' restrained manner made this mention of *παράνομία* all the more telling. As he says, the citation at 13.4 is a similar case, when Plutarch is talking of Hyperbolus: *μémentαι μὲν ὡς ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ Θουκυδίδης*. Thucydides would not make such criticisms rashly.
- 24 See p. 23, where the passage is quoted.
- 25 At least as Plutarch portrays it, *Alc.* 36.
- 26 Cf. the stress of *Per.* 18.1, 19.3, 20.3–4, 21, 22.2, 23.2; cf. then 33.5–6, 38.4, *Fab.* 28(1).1. Stadter 1989 on 18.1 notes that Plutarch evinces no interest in the various strategic tricks that Frontinus ascribes to Pericles: these would sit uncomfortably with such *ἀσφάλεια*, as the wording of 18.1 brings out plainly.
- 27 So de Romilly 1988, 31. *Pomp.* 67.7–10 offers a suggestive contrast, where Plutarch waxes indignant at the shortsighted selfishness of the Roman aristocrats at Pharsalus, and Pompey's failure to give the strong leadership one should expect: a similar indignation would be

- justified here.
- 28 This has the effect of making the early chapters less favourable to Nicias than we might expect from Thucydides, as Nikolaidis (1988) forcefully points out; but he perhaps goes too far in speaking of Plutarch's 'bias against Nicias', and arguing that this is to be seen as a negative, deterrent *Life* (so also Marasco 1976, 22). There are several passages where Plutarch might have criticized Nicias more fiercely (cf. preceding note), and anyway Plutarch's unfriendly treatment of the *demos* itself (pp. 21–2) makes Nicias' nervousness more understandable. Littman 1970, 252–3 here gives a measured view. Nor is the treatment as independent of Thucydides as Nikolaidis suggests (1988, 320). It is rather that Plutarch transfers Thucydides' leading themes to explain different and earlier events, rather as in *Themistocles* he exploits themes from Thucydides' posthumous survey (1.138) to reinterpret Themistocles' earlier actions (in that case, actions for which Plutarch's main source was Herodotus): cf. Littman 1970, 53–7.
 - 29 This analytic flexibility is very clear in the Roman *Lives*: I discussed this in Pelling 1980, 131–5, and 1986a, at 161–3.
 - 30 The *δήμος* emphasis is inserted into the very first sentence after the proem (2.1). *Atb. Pol.* 28.5 lauded Nicias, Thucydides, and Theramenes as βέλτιστοι . . . μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους and οὐ μόνον καλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικοὺς καὶ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ πατρικῶς χρωμένους; Plutarch has them as βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικῇν [did he misunderstand πατρικῶς in *Atb. Pol.*?] ἔχοντες εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. This, as elaborated in the rest of the chapter, is the slightly nervous and precarious *φιλία* from which he begins. Cf. Levi 1955, 161–2.
 - 31 See pp. 23–4.
 - 32 On this see, above all, Macleod 1983.
 - 33 Not that the *ἔνδοξοι* are wrong: the analysis is picked up in the *Synkrisis* (*Alc.* 40[1].3), but there they are described as οἱ σῶφρονες.
 - 34 Some aspects of Nicias' rhetoric, especially at 6.68.3–4 and 7.64, lend themselves to analysis in this way. For his nervousness of the troops, cf. especially 7.8.1, 14.1 (χαλεπαὶ γὰρ αἱ ὑμέτεραι φύσεις ἄρξαι), 48.3–4.
 - 35 Besides 17, cf. 4.6, 5.1, 8.1, 10.7, 31.1, 36.8, 38.1, 39.1; but in the case of the *demos* here it is more disturbingly connected with anger, *οργή*, a much less Periclean characteristic. *φρόνημα* is one of the themes that links Pericles to his pair Fabius, who shows the same quality (*Fab.* 3.7); he too finds the quality hard to cope with in others (6.2); but he too finally inspires his city to respond with the same quality (18.4).
 - 36 Cf. 9.1, listing κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς as the distinctive demagogic methods; then e.g. 9.3. The irony here is missed by Connor 1968, 114. This emphasis on *φρόνημα*, both Pericles' own and that inspired in the *demos*, helps us to understand the different treatment of rhetoric in Plutarch (a point stressed by de Romilly 1988, 24–5, who found Plutarch's analysis disquietingly trivial). Plutarch presents Pericles' rhetoric as *ψυχαγωγία*, and emphasizes the point with Platonic allusions at 8.2 and 15.2. For Thucydides it was much more a question of communicating truth and insight, especially prophetic insight, to the *demos*. Plutarch thus dwells more on moulding

- and leading the **πάθη** of the people; that emphasis is of course present in Thucydides too, who also stresses Pericles' power to stem or inflate the people's confidence, but does so in a much more intellectual register (cf. esp. 2.65.9). One can now understand Plutarch's re-emphasis. It is the spirit, moulded by **ψυχαγωγία**, rather than the intellectually inspired insight that is so central to his interpretation. And it is again hard to be sure that he was wrong.
- 37 Especially 6.2–3, 7.3–4, 7.8, 9.5, 10.8, 11.3 (and all 11.1–4), 12.1, 14.1, 14.3, 15.1; cf. Stadter 1989, especially his notes on 7.3, 11.3, and 15.1. Many have criticized Plutarch for the crudity of the analysis, especially Frost 1964, at 386–92, Breebart 1971, at 267–9, Andrewes 1978, at 1–5: they generally explain this as a consequence either of Plutarch's source-material (cf. e.g. *Ath. Pol.* 28.2) or of the influence of conditions of his own day. (On this second possibility cf. also Ameling 1985.) Both considerations may indeed have played a part. But we also need to explain why this analysis, when compared with Plutarch's other *Lives* of the period, is both unusually insistent and unusually crude. That needs to be explained in terms of the distinctive features of this particular *Life*.
- 38 Thus Cimon is genuinely popular in *Cim.* (5.4–6, 7.4–8.2, 8.7, 10, 15.1, 16.2); *Per.* 9.2 prefers to hint that Cimon's liberality was calculated demagoguery, thus keeping closer to the tenor of the original (Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 89) than he does at *Cim.* 10, where he insists that such spontaneous generosity and rapport with the *demos* could comfortably co-exist with a **προαίρεσις ἀριστοκρατικὴ καὶ Λακωνικὴ** (10.8). At *Per.* 10.6 Pericles prosecutes Cimon **ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προβεβλημένος**; nothing of this at *Cim.* 14.3–5. Indeed, in *Cim.* more than in *Per.* 9–10 Cimon is outside and above the two-party bickering, at least at first, and can act as a moderating influence: cf. 3.1, 19.3, and especially 15.1 (**παρὼν μὲν ἐκράτει καὶ συνέστειλε τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ περισπῶντα τὴν πᾶσαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν**). All this implies that the two 'parties' were important, but in *Cimon* Plutarch does not explain every move or political figure in those terms. None of this particularly impresses; indeed, it is partly a consequence of Plutarch's general lack of interest in political analysis in *Cim.* (cf. e.g. the perfunctory explanation at 16.9–10, or the much blander treatment of his recall from exile at 17, especially 17.9, than at *Per.* 10.1–4). But it is notable that Plutarch's more insistent concern with political analysis in *Per.* requires so much simplification and overstatement.
- 39 Gomme 1956, 56.
- 40 See Stadter 1989, p. xxxix; Breebart 1971, 261, 270. Simon Swain, in reviewing Stadter 1989 (Swain 1990, 76), notes the importance of the fact that Plato is not named at *Per.* 9.1, where the divergence between Thucydides and **ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοί** is discussed. Plutarch's reverence for Plato is such that he would prefer dissent to be tacit.
- 41 The distinctions are drawn sharply and crudely, but not without some discrimination; 11.3 argues that the split, hitherto latent, becomes much fiercer and clearly defined with Thucydides son of Melesias and his more systematic organization, and Plutarch's own narrative emphases have confirmed that picture. Thus even before 11.3 we see a strong

- potential split (cf. the passages cited in n. 37), but till that point the distinction is one of two potential sources of support or two different political approaches (cf. *δημοτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατικῆς προαιρέσεως*, 11.3): thus Cimon too, even though belonging with the conservatives, nevertheless knows how to play the demagogue (9.2). Between 11.3 and 15.1 (cf. also 6.2–3), the division of two ‘parties’, systematically at each other’s throats, is clearer: cf. 12.1, 14.1, 14.3. Critics sometimes exaggerate the incoherence of Plutarch’s account, e.g. Meyer 1967, 145.
- 42 ‘Takes further’, because there are already some elements of that style in the earlier, demagogic phase: these furnish one of several devices for making this period less uncomfortable. Cf. e.g. the dignified aloofness from the *demos*, or the elevated specific motives for basically demagogic measures (7.5–8, 11.6–12). Cf. esp. Stadter 1989, pp. xxxix–xl and Stadter 1987, at 258–9; Breebart 1971.
- 43 The fragility of the control is also felt; it is made clear that the *demos* can always break away from such grave leadership, as they turn away from Pericles in the final years and months (32.6, 33.7–8, 35.3–5); and Plutarch seizes several opportunities to hint at what will happen after his death (especially 39.3–4, but notice also 20.4, 37.1, 37.6, *Fab.* 29(2).3–4). That suggests some qualifications to the argument of de Romilly 1988, 25. Thucydides naturally generates *more* interest (as she stresses) in ‘the nature of Pericles’ authority, contrasted with his successors’ lack of authority’ and ‘the whole evolution of Athenian politics during the Peloponnesian War’; such themes do not lend themselves to development in biographical form, as again she concedes. But the theme is hinted in Plutarch too, despite his literary form.
- 44 Cf. above, n. 38.
- 45 de Romilly 1988.
- 46 Stadter 1989, p. lxi.
- 47 On all this cf. esp. Macleod 1983.
- 48 This stress, important in *Nicias*, is absent from the parallel account at *Alc.* 13. This helps to explain several variations between the two accounts. (1) At *Nic.* 11.5 Nicias and Alcibiades *both* play a part in the scheming against Hyperbolus; in *Alc.* 13.7 it is Alcibiades alone. That is not just routine biographical focusing, for it is important that Nicias’ own schemings should turn against himself. (2) The role of Phaeax, though a little inconsequential in *Alcibiades*, is certainly greater than in *Nicias* (cf. 11.10). Russell 1966, 43, explained this as an ‘addition to Plutarch’s knowledge’ after writing *Nicias*, and others too assume that he is following different sources in the two *Lives* (thus Marasco 1976, 114–15, following a lead from Carcopino; cf. also the more complicated picture of Raubitschek 1948, at 208–10, and 1955); but that need not follow. The shifting relations of Nicias and Alcibiades are a central point in *Nicias* and could naturally lead him to play down a complicating additional figure: indeed, the ‘if either Nicias or Alcibiades had been ostracized...’ reflection would be ruined if Phaeax were intruded too heavily, for *his* ostracism would evidently not have saved Nicias from Sicily. In *Alcibiades* Plutarch’s focus rests more on Alcibiades’ relationship with the *demos*, and the extra character is a positive advantage, highlighting different

styles of popular leadership. Thus the incompetent rhetoric of Phaeax (*Alc.* 13.2–3) contrasts effectively with Alcibiades' winning eloquence (10.3–4), just as Hyperbolus' 'contempt for public opinion' (ὀλιγωρία δόξης, 13.5) contrasts with Alcibiades' φιλοτιμία καὶ φιλοδοξία (6.4, etc.).

- 49 de Romilly 1988, 33.
- 50 Frost 1980, 168, comments on this abruptness; cf. also Stadter's review-discussion (1983–4), 359–61.
- 51 An analysis, incidentally, that Thucydides would surely have found much too simple-minded, for all his awareness of the interconnection of democracy and nautical empire (cf. esp. 6.24.3–4). Thucydides, both in his narrative and in the summary at 1.138, has notably little to say or suggest about Themistocles' part in building Athenian democracy or fostering factional strife; he is more concerned with his role in building Athenian power and empire. Hence the lavish treatment of the construction of the walls (cf. esp. 1.93.4).
- 52 Cf. Stadter 1983–4.
- 53 I have said more about this in Pelling 1986b, esp. 96.
- 54 On this topic in general cf. esp. Geiger 1981.
- 55 This might have left some gaps, particularly perhaps on childhood; but this was true in other *Lives* too, and did not stop him writing of (say) Nicias, Philopoemen, Phocion, or Flamininus.
- 56 Especially θρασυτης and βδελυγία. For the traditional nature of the qualities, see my note (1988a) on *Ant.* 2.6 and Stadter's (1989) on *Per.* 5.2; for Cleon, cf. *Nic.* 2.2–3, 8.5, *Crass.* 36(3).5, *Demetr.* 11.2, *Mor.* 855b; for Clodius, *Lucull.* 34.1, 38.1, *Pomp.* 46.4, 48.5, *Caes.* 9.2, *Cat. min.* 31.2, *Cic.* 28.1, *Ant.* 2.6.
- 57 Cf. Ameling 1985; Fuscagni 1989, 48–58. *Alc.* 14.8 is another case where Plutarch is perhaps misled by the political conditions of his own day: cf. S.Hornblower 1983, 120. See also Gomme 1956, 72–4, on Plutarch's intrusion of stereotypes from Roman history.
- 58 Fifth-century sources will of course have influenced Plutarch's picture of (say) popular religion or the reaction to Alcibiades, and in that sense he filters contemporary views to us; but that is very different from saying that he draws these particular themes or emphases from a predecessor, contemporary or otherwise.

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PARADOXICAL PARADIGMS

Lysander and Sulla

Philip A. Stadter

The treasure of the Acanthians at Delphi bears the following inscription: 'Brasidas and the Acanthians, from booty from the Athenians.' For this reason many think that the stone statue standing within the chamber near the door is an image of Brasidas. But the portrait is of Lysander.

(*Lys.* 1.1)

The true features of Lysander were difficult to recognize. Nor did the monuments of Sulla give a valid impression of his appearance.¹ Statues did not tell the whole story. Much harder than recognizing the physical features of the two great men, however, is delineating their character and temperament, the peculiar blend of qualities that determined their behaviour and lay behind all that they achieved for good and ill. Modern writers have found no cogent reason for setting the two lives side by side.² Plutarch himself found these two men peculiarly anomalous, even paradoxical. For example, on the effect of their attitudes toward money, he writes: 'Sulla, though unrestrained and extravagant, tried to lead the citizens to moderation, while Lysander filled the city with passions to which he himself was a stranger' (*Sull.* 41[3].8). The contradictions of the two subjects of this pair in fact go beyond their handling of money into every aspect of their characters, and lie at the basis of Plutarch's dual portrait. Probing into the particular and apparently contradictory manifestations that ambition, *philotimia*, took in these two men, the biographer discovers similarities in temperament that underlie apparent differences. Setting the two men beside one another, Plutarch allows the life of each to comment on the other, leading us to a richer understanding of the dangers of the struggle for honour,

to individuals and to the state. In this chapter, I will point out some of the common qualities of the two men that permit Plutarch to consider them as similar, and show how he develops a progression between the two *Lives*, using the character portrait of Lysander as a foundation to build the more complex and frightening image of Sulla. The understanding thus gained will allow the pair to be situated more precisely in the context of the first ten pairs of *Parallel Lives*.

The beginning of the *Lysander* forms a preface both to the *Lysander* and to the pair of *Lives*, which were united in a single book.³ The difficulty of comprehending the statesmen in this pair is suggested at once in the puzzle over the identity of the statue of Lysander. The puzzle arises partially from the inscription on the treasury, partially from the traditional features of the statue, which had the long hair and beard dictated by the ancient Lycurgan custom. Apparently such old-fashioned ways seemed to viewers more appropriate to a Spartan of the older generation such as Brasidas than to the suave and wily Lysander, the immensely powerful commander who ruled the Aegean after the defeat of Athens. Plutarch adds further that Lycurgus had established the custom of wearing the hair long 'because it made the fair more distinguished, the ugly more frightening' (ἡ κόμη τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ὁρᾶσθαι ποιεῖ, τοὺς δ' αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους, *Lys.* 1.3). The words 'fair' and 'ugly', of course, are ambiguous, for they can refer both to appearance and character. The problem is implicit, but not yet voiced: did Lysander's training in the old Spartan ways make him more distinguished or more frightening? Was he καλός or αἰσχρός? One of the major themes of the *Life* is that Lysander is a true Spartan, faithful to the Lycurgan ideals, not only in hairstyle, but in bravery, simplicity, and attitude toward money. His most notable characteristic, his ambition and competitiveness, was encouraged by his Spartan training—yet his nature was unSpartan in its subservience and ability to manipulate those in power (2.4).⁴

A similar paradox between the heroic appearance and the more complex reality is suggested by the portraits of Sulla (*Sull.* 2). Plutarch notes that the portrait statues do not reveal the piercing, unmitigated grey of his eyes, which made his face more terrible (φοβερωτέρων, the same word used in the *Lysander*), or the harsh redness of his face, blotched with white patches. Again the appearance suggests an element of fear, but in addition harshness and contradiction.⁵ In fact, Plutarch moves rapidly from the

description of face to description of character, via the mocking verse comparing Sulla to a red mulberry sprinkled with meal. We soon learn that Sulla loved buffoonery and dissolute living as a young man, and did not change his ways even after he had become consul and dictator. Alongside the astuteness and ambition of the victorious general and dictator, his character contained an appetite for revelry and sexual licence which continued all his life. Sulla's behaviour hardly fitted the image of the traditional Roman conservative.⁶

After several important chapters on the origin and growth of the rivalry with Marius (3.1–6.3), concentrating on the ambition (*philotimia*) of the two men, and a passage on Sulla's good fortune (6.4–13), Plutarch returns to Sulla's character, and states explicitly the problem of Sulla's character that had been adumbrated in the physical description: he is contradictory (*ἀνώμαλος*) and at war with himself (*διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτόν*). His blotched complexion mirrors the inner man (6.14–17).⁷ It was impossible to know whether Sulla was by nature haughty or a flatterer. The contradiction is especially apparent in his vengeance, fluctuating wildly between mild tolerance and crucifixion.⁸

Here let me digress for a moment on the question of Plutarch's attitude toward Sulla. It has often been said that Plutarch creates a favourable picture of Sulla.⁹ There is no doubt that he frequently refers to Sulla's own memoirs, quoting Sulla's favourable estimate of himself and reporting both his extraordinary successes and the omens and other signs of divine favour Sulla records.¹⁰ But in fact Plutarch goes out of his way to describe Sulla's dark side, even while not neglecting to mention many of his achievements. The introductory chapters (1–2) are striking in this regard. Here we learn in rapid succession that Sulla's most distinguished ancestor, Rufinus, fell into disgrace for possessing an extravagant amount of silver plate;¹¹ that Sulla was boastful and haughty; that he consorted with mimes and clowns; that he shamed his office and neglected necessary business; and finally that his erotic passion for men and women continued to the end of his life (*Sull.* 1–2). This catalogue of defamatory anecdotes contains not a single reference to or intimation of Sulla's achievements as a military or political leader. These opening chapters set the tone for the *Life*, which is generally critical of Sulla's character, while recognizing his extraordinary military skill.¹²

To return to Plutarch's reasons for comparing the two men. The early chapters of the two *Lives* indicate that the inner contrasts between traditional and non-traditional elements and between command and subservience were significant common traits. In a review of the pair of *Lives*, many other similarities of background, interests, and behaviour between the two men can be identified, of the sort that incited Plutarch to a more profound study of individual features of their characters. Both rose from distinguished yet impoverished beginnings¹³ to become victorious generals and dominant in their own cities; both planned constitutional reforms;¹⁴ both slaughtered opponents without mercy;¹⁵ both used religion to support their political position.¹⁶ Both besieged and captured Athens, both fought in Asia Minor and Boeotia,¹⁷ both brought great harm to their native cities.

The more fundamental parallels, however, are in character. The underlying quality of both is ambition, *philotimia*. This is hardly distinctive in itself, since it is one of the most common traits of the heroes in the *Parallel Lives*,¹⁸ but its destructiveness in these two *Lives* is unusual, particularly in the case of Sulla. Of Sulla's competition with Marius, Plutarch writes

Their hostility, which arose from so small and childish an origin and first cause but then progressed through civil slaughter and incurable conflicts to tyranny and the confusion of the whole nation, demonstrated that Euripides was a wise man, and knowledgeable in political diseases, when he urged that men beware of ambition (*philotimia*) as a most vicious and destructive power (*daimon*) against those who possess it.

(*Sull.* 4.6)

Plutarch refers in this passage to the words of Jocasta in Euripides' *Phoenissae* (531–4),¹⁹ trying to warn her son Eteocles, who was already engaged in his fatal struggle with Polynices for power in Thebes. The reminiscence effectively evokes the drama and the fatal tragedy of Sulla's rivalry with Marius. A few chapters later Plutarch recalls Euripides' sentiment and very words in describing Marius' madness in beginning the civil war: while Sulla was preparing his army for the war against Mithridates, Marius, 'remaining at Rome, devised that most destructive civil war, which harmed Rome more than all the enemies of Rome, just as divine power had warned beforehand' (7.3).²⁰ The devastation deriving from the ambition of Lysander and Sulla resulted from the blend of other traits that

accompanied it in the two men—traits such as subservience, violence, and of course military brilliance²¹—as well as the particular situations of each. In Lysander, these traits do not reach their fullest extent, nor was Agesilaus a competitor as savage as Marius. Sulla, on the other hand, reveals the full power of the demon of *philotimia*.

We have remarked that one un-Spartan trait of Lysander was his ability to get along with those in power. An important example is his management of Cyrus the younger, displayed in the anecdote of his request for pay for the navy (*Lys.* 4), and confirmed by the contrasting behaviour of the proud and stiff Callicratidas (*Lys.* 6–7). Compared to Callicratidas' simplicity and nobility Lysander seemed a rogue and a shyster. Lysander was unabashed, because he had achieved his aims, and commented, 'Where the lionskin [of Heracles] does not work, one must put on the skin of a fox.'²² Sulla also could ingratiate himself, especially with the *demos*, when he was campaigning to become praetor and consul (4.2–5, 6.17).²³ One aspect of his contradictory nature was that he could be both subservient and scornful (θεραπεύειν ὦν δεοίτο, θρύπτεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους, 6.14). Often this subservience to the people was put on for advantage (6.15), as when he permitted his soldiers to murder the consular Albinus with impunity (6.16–17), tried to win the *demos* by permitting Cinna to be elected consul (10.6), or won his and other commanders' soldiers with money (12.12–14). The scorn was most apparent in his disregard of propriety and others' dignity: in permitting his soldiers to maltreat the senate's envoys (9.4), in his refusal to spare Athens (14.9), and especially in his treatment of the proscribed (31.2–6, 33.3). In Sulla, this quality was closely related to another, his love of vulgar pleasures: drinking, revelry, the company of mimes, actors, and musicians. First touched upon at the beginning of the *Life* (2.3–6), this feature reappears at the end, when Sulla appears on the tribunal surrounded by 'attractive women, lyre-players, mimes, and off-scourings of the freedmen' (33.3). Just before his death, he revels with mimes and his favourite Metrobios (36.1–2). These and other disreputable henchmen he favours with gifts of all kinds, to the despite of reputable figures.²⁴

But the harshness of their behaviour to their enemies (χαλεπότης) is the trait that particularly distinguishes the two men. It is seen first in a relatively mild form in Lysander, but in Sulla it grows to dominate the *Life*. After defeating the Athenians at Aegospotami, Lysander had three thousand prisoners executed, according to a decree of the Spartans. Later, when his power had been established throughout

the Aegean, Plutarch writes, he showed no proportion in either honouring his friends or punishing his enemies (19.2).²⁵ The sole balm to his anger was the death of his enemies.²⁶ Without hesitation he handed eight hundred Milesian democrats over to their opponents to be slaughtered, and in the other cities permits ‘countless murders of the popular party’, δημοτικῶν φόνος οὐκ ἀριθμητός (19.4). His harshness rendered him terrible and hard to endure (19.6). Anger also lay at the origin of the two major decisions of his later years, the attempt to revolutionize the Spartan constitution and the expedition to Boeotia. The revolution sprang from his anger at his treatment by Agesilaus (Ἀγησίλαον δι’ ὀργῆς εἶχεν, 24.1; ὀργιζόμενος μὲν τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ, μισῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν, 24.2).²⁷ The attack on Boeotia, although justified by various actions of the Thebans (27), is an example of the harshness engendered by his melancholic temper: ἤδη δὲ παντάπασι χαλεπὸς διὰ τὴν μελαγχολίαν ἐπιτείνουσεν διὰ τῆς γήραος (28.1).²⁸

Sulla’s harshness had been suggested by his piercing eyes and harsh complexion (2.1–2), but emerges as a component of his nature at 6.15: φύσει μὲν ὀργὴν χαλεπὸν ὄντα καὶ τιμωρητικόν.²⁹ The harshness is soon revealed in action: as Sulla enters Rome in 89 BC, he orders his soldiers to set fire to buildings where there is resistance, ‘without any considered plan, but swept away by passion (ἐμπαθῆς ὤν) and surrendering the control of events to his anger (τῷ θυμῷ)’ (9.12). The death sentence that he subsequently passed on Marius was neither sensible nor politic, and in fact turned both the senate and the Roman populace against him (10.2–4). The taking of Athens was accompanied by indiscriminate slaughter: ‘there was no counting the number of those massacred, so that still today the number is measured by the high point of the tide of blood (ὥστ’ ἀριθμὸν μηδένα γενέσθαι τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ ρυέντος αἵματος ἔτι νῦν μετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, 14.5). The blood of those killed in the vicinity of the agora filled all the Kerameikos within the Dipylon gate. Still others killed themselves, fearing Sulla’s wrath (14.6–7). When Sulla finally returns to Italy and to Rome, his success is accompanied with massacres. Six thousand men who had surrendered at Antemna were taken to the Circus and cut down in cold blood while Sulla spoke before the senate (30.2–4). Then, Plutarch tells us, even the slowest of the Romans realized that they had exchanged tyrannies; that the harshness of Marius had been replaced by Sulla’s capricious, arrogant, and inhumane rule (30.5–6). The slaughter continues in the proscriptions that follow, with no

number or limit set to the carnage (31.1), and reaches the acme of violence with the butchery at Praeneste, where twelve thousand prisoners were cut down (32.1).

Although the two *Lives* share major features, Plutarch fashions a progression between the two.³⁰ The features which only disturb in the portrait of Lysander horrify in the *Life* of Sulla. This evolution is most apparent in the murderously violent temper just discussed, but marks other character traits as well. First, the motif of anomaly: this appears in the first *Life* with the disparity between appearance and reality in the portrait statue of Lysander and between Lysander's Spartan education and individual traits. It continues in Lysander's handling of the wealth won by his conquests, which he disdains for himself yet uses to subvert the Spartan way of life, and in his decision to change radically the Spartan state that he has just saved. At his death, when Agesilaus discovers Lysander's secret plans for revolution, we are confronted with his treasonous, anti-Spartan behaviour³¹ at the same time that we discover that Lysander has not profited by a penny from all his power, and that the old Spartan law protecting those from poor but virtuous families must be invoked to ensure that his daughters can marry (30.3–7). The *Sulla* begins in a much more negative tone, recalling the disgraceful wealth of Sulla's ancestor Rufinus and the vulgar behaviour of Sulla himself. This vulgarity reappears as a regular theme in the *Life*, offering a counterpoint to his glorious successes, especially in his last years, when he sits on the tribunal amid musicians and mimes, meets his fifth wife Valeria at a gladiatorial contest, and spends his last days in dissolute parties.

Pelling has noted that Lysander's ability to manipulate and deceive others is turned against him in the course of his life. He acquires his own flatterers, who prey on him as he had on Cyrus, and other commanders, most notably Pharnabazus and Agesilaus, show the ambition and deceit that he had employed first.³² In the *Sulla* also the same process is at work, in an even more destructive fashion. Sulla's ambition and harsh violence provoke similar responses in his opponents, which diminish and negate his achievements. Harshness begets harshness, violence violence. The theme is set at the very beginning of the rivalry with Marius, when Sulla claims the honour of the capture of Jugurtha for himself, and by his boasting and use of a seal ring engraved with the capture inflames the opposition of Marius (3.7–9). Sulla's entry into Rome in 88 might have resolved the dispute, but his relentless pursuit of Marius simply

drove senate and people to oppose him (10), so that while he is on campaign against Mithridates, Cinna can seize the government and continue the civil war even after Marius' death. In the end, as Sulla lays down his dictatorship, Lepidus and Pompey are already beginning to destroy the government he had established (34.6–9). Another feature of Sulla's character, his willingness to toady to others, also has its reflex: his pleasure in the host of flatterers and hangers-on which surrounded him. Encouraged by Sulla, they contribute in large part to the viciousness of the proscriptions, and as with Lysander, blacken his reputation with the atrocities committed with his connivance.

Much of the final *synkrisis* of this pair of *Lives* is devoted to revealing that features only adumbrated in the *Lysander* emerge horribly distinct in the *Sulla*. Lysander was freely voted great power; Sulla had to force himself on unwilling citizens (39[1].1–2). The poetic citation and reflection that follow argue that Lysander had some natural goodness, but Sulla was the *πάγκακος* who only found honour because of the general perversion of the civil war. Throughout his ten years as a commander, Sulla held various offices, but was always a tyrant (39[1].3–70). Constitutional reform, which Lysander had attempted *πρῶτεράν καὶ νομιμώτεράν*, Sulla brought about by force (40[2].1). Lysander harmed his enemies, and the massacres under him were chiefly committed to support the rule of his friends; Sulla wronged and even murdered the best of his friends (40[2].5–7). In the pursuit of riches and pleasures, Plutarch finds that Lysander acted like a leader, Sulla like a tyrant (41[3].10). Only in war is Sulla clearly superior—but of course Sulla used that trait against his own country. The complex of traits that cluster around the central quality of *philotimia* are similar in each, but in Lysander they remain closer to the norm; in Sulla the psychic anomaly is greater and the complete lack of proportion reveals itself in the excess, the vulgarity, and the violence that made Sulla a tyrant.

The dangers of unrestrained and violent ambition portrayed in this pair should be set in the larger context of the *Lives* Plutarch was composing at this time. The fifth pair of *Lives* was the *Demosthenes-Cicero*, the tenth *Pericles-Fabius*. The intervening four most probably were *Lycurgus-Numa*, *Theseus-Romulus*, *Themistocles-Camillus*, and *Lysander-Sulla*.³³ The last three pairs of this first ten explore common themes of ambition, political strife, and power.

The *Themistocles-Camillus* illustrate the ambition that despite weaknesses saves and rebuilds the heroes' cities after destruction.³⁴

The genius of Themistocles saved the Athenians at Salamis; Camillus' leadership conquered Veii, freed Rome from the Gauls, and won frequent victories in lesser wars. Both lived in a time of political strife, but managed to rise above it. Themistocles' rivalry with Aristides spurred him on to greatness, not meanness, and he was willing to set aside this competition when Athens was in danger.³⁵ His achievements and behaviour led to envy, and finally his enemies hounded him from the city. Nevertheless, although he was forced to flee to Persia, he refused to act against his country, and preferred to commit suicide rather than obey the king's command or take vengeance on the city that had rejected him. Camillus after his victory over Veii was filled with self-importance (ὄγκος and φρόνημα, *Cam.* 7.1) and incurred the wrath of the *demos*. A short time later he was prosecuted for embezzlement (κλοπή, *Cam.* 12.1) and fled into exile.³⁶ Like Themistocles, he did not try to avenge himself, but waited until the Gallic attack gave him a chance to show his value and save the city. Even after this achievement, the political strife in Rome, focused on the fight for a plebeian consul, continued to threaten Camillus' position. Finally, in his last, most difficult, but greatest political act (*Cam.* 42.2), Camillus as dictator forced the senate to deal with the problem, and the change was approved. Camillus presided over the election of the first plebeian consul, and died shortly thereafter honoured by all.

The *Lysander-Sulla*, in contrast, shows the reader the much more ruthless and unthinking ambition that destroyed the heroes' own cities, Sparta and Rome.³⁷ Both men, of course, were successful commanders, and both were able to besiege and conquer Athens. Yet Lysander heedlessly brought back to Sparta the wealth that would break down its traditional way of life, and planned a revolution to win power for himself, and Sulla captured Rome itself with a hostile army and slaughtered enemies and citizens alike. What good did their victories do their countries? The rivalry of Lysander with Agesilaus and of Sulla with Marius did not encourage healthy ambition but ruinous ambition. Sulla in particular showed none of the forbearance that kept Themistocles and Camillus from turning on their own cities.³⁸

Finally, *Pericles* and *Fabius* reveal the self-control that preserves the city from its enemies and refuses to foment civil strife within the city. Ambition and rivalry were present: Pericles drove out Cimon and Thucydides, Fabius had to defend himself against Minucius and others eager to engage Hannibal, and opposed the

daring plans of Scipio. Nevertheless, both showed a sense of limit: the rivalry was not carried so far as to threaten the state. Pericles was willing to recall Cimon, and fought Thucydides with noble weapons, especially the extraordinary building programme. Despite the pressure of friends and rivals, he maintained a firm and benevolent control of the *demos*. Fabius' firm management defended Rome from Hannibal. He did not use violence against Scipio, who was able to carry out his project and invade Africa. *Praotes*, *dikaïosyne*, and *megalophrosyne* replace *philotimia*. The motifs of stasis, ambition, the acquisition and use of wealth,³⁹ the safety of the state, run through the three pairs of *Lives*, building to a climax exalting the achievement of Pericles and Fabius as commanders and statesmen, and establishing their behaviour as an example to Plutarch's contemporaries. The carnage described in the *Sulla* gives special point to Pericles' reputed deathbed boast, 'No Athenian has put on mourning because of me' (*Per.* 38.4). The *Pericles* concludes with Plutarch's judgement that 'that strength that aroused envy, earlier called monarchy and tyranny, now was revealed as a saving bulwark of the state' (39.4). Fabius for his part is honoured at his death as father of his country (*Fab.* 27.4). Power can and should be used to protect the state.⁴⁰ The statesman must show self-control, not violence; he must lead the city by persuasion and character, not faction and military might; he must restrain the desire for money and fame, looking rather to the good of his city. With the examples of Pericles and Fabius, Plutarch returns to the type of statesman most worthy of admiration and imitation with which he had begun his *Parallel Lives*. The first pair, Epaminondas and Scipio Aemilianus, were successful military commanders, but were most notable in Plutarch's opinion for their philosophical training and their self-control in political situations.⁴¹ Pericles and Fabius, combining leadership and self-control, contrast with the ambition and violence of Lysander and Sulla and re-establish an ideal of patriotic statesmanship.

In future years, Plutarch would come back to the problem of lives not suitable for imitation, in pairs such as the *Demetrius-Antony* and the *Coriolanus-Alcibiades*, and enunciate the value of observing vices as well as virtues. Even in those negative lives, he sometimes showed a noteworthy sensibility toward his heroes despite their weaknesses.⁴² The *Lysander-Sulla* falls earlier and belongs to the series of outstanding statesmen who nevertheless may have great flaws. Lysander and Sulla were leaders who placed an indelible

mark on their countries. In pairing them, Plutarch brings out the peculiar blend of traits they shared, and attempts to reveal the paradoxical combination of admirable and repulsive features in the same men. The paradox is resolved in our larger understanding of the complex of qualities that formed the ambitious and violent temperament of these men. Plutarch concludes his life of Sulla with his epitaph, expressing a common, even hackneyed, Greek sentiment, yet one which in the context of this pair sends a shiver through our spines: 'no friend ever surpassed him in kindness, no enemy in viciousness' (38.6). Viewed from the perspective of this pair of *Lives*, this traditional expression of noble self-sufficiency becomes a terrifying comment on the destructive excesses of ambition. Finally, we can recognize Lysander and Sulla for what they are.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. *Sull.* 2 and below.
- 2 Cf., e.g. Russell 1972, 114.
- 3 On the structure and role of the proems of the *Parallel Lives*, see Stadter 1988, 275–95.
- 4 For Plutarch's progressive redefinition and refinement of Lysander's qualities, see now Pelling 1988b, 268–74. For recent treatments of Lysander, see Bommelaer 1981 and Cartledge 1987, esp. 28–9, 77–98, 151–3. On Plutarch's *Lysander*, see also Russell 1966, 151–4.
- 5 Note again the use of words with both physical and moral connotations: *πικράν, ἄκρατον, φοβερωτέραν, τραχύ*. On Plutarch's descriptions of physical appearance, see Wardman 1967 and 1974, 140–4.
- 6 His erotic passion and pursuit of pleasure is characterized as a disease, *Sull.* 2.6. The *Antony* makes many of the same contrasts between Antony's excesses and his military skill. However, Antony does not show the implacable cruelty of Sulla, and his excesses, especially his liaison with Cleopatra, corrupt and finally negate his ability as a commander. See Pelling 1988a, 10–18.
- 7 Note again the play between physical and moral qualities: at 6.12 a seer predicts that a man *ὄψει διάφορος* will relieve the city from its present troubles; Sulla interprets this as referring to his golden hair, but at 6.14 we learn rather that Sulla is *διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτόν*.
- 8 The reference to *ἀποτυμπανισμός*, in the Roman context crucifixion (*Sull.* 6.15), as an example of unusual harshness, helps to explain Plutarch's refusal to credit Duris' report of Pericles punishing the Samians with *ἀποτυμπανισμός* (*Per.* 28.2–3). It does not fit his idea of Pericles' mildness, so much in contrast with Sulla's lack of restraint.
- 9 See, e.g., Scardigli 1979, 89, Valgiglio 1954, p. xii. Flacelière, however, notes how unflattering Plutarch's portrait actually is (1971, 216–18) and

- Wardman (1974, 188) contrasts this *Life* with others (*Aemilius*, *Timoleon*) that indeed show virtue prospering with the help of fortune, the very view Sulla's *Memoirs* would have presented. For a recent full account of Sulla, see Keaveney 1982.
- 10 On Sulla's memoirs see Valgiglio 1975.
 - 11 Note the contrast that this makes with the last item of the *Lysander*; the fines levied on the wealthy suitors of Lysander's daughters when it was discovered that his strict honesty had left the girls penniless at his death (*Lys.* 30.6–7).
 - 12 There are very few positive expressions regarding Sulla: even the dispatch of Gabinius (or Erycius) to save Chaeronea from the army of Archelaos, which is seen as a critical moment for Plutarch's home (ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἡμῶν παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον), evokes praise for Gabinius, but no good words for Sulla (*Sull.* 16.14–15). Similarly, when Sulla permits the survivors of Halae to return to their city, it seems less an act of kindness than of tyrannical whimsy: the men might have been killed, but the fish they had given him were 'neither negligible nor contemptible intercessors' (26.6–9).
 - 13 Lysander traced his lineage to the Heraclids, though not of a royal family, and was raised in poverty (*Lys.* 2.1–2); Sulla came from a patrician family, which included the consul Rufinus, but he was relatively poor at the beginning of his career (*Sull.* 1, 2.7–8).
 - 14 Lysander's plans for a revolution to replace the Lycurgan system never came to fruition, see *Lys.* 24–6. This fact may partially explain Plutarch's lack of interest in Sulla's constitutional legislation (there are only brief references at *Sull.* 33.1–2, 34.6, and 40[2].1). As will be seen, Plutarch's interpretation of Sulla's character focuses on the actions that reveal his violence and lack of control rather than on legislative means of affecting change.
 - 15 See below, pp. 45–7.
 - 16 Cf. Lysander's conspicuous dedications at Delphi (*Lys.* 18.1–2), divine honours on Samos (*Lys.* 18.5–6, cf. Cartledge 1987, 83), use of the Delphic oracle to support Agesilaus' accession (22.10–12), and subversion of the oracle to support his revolution (26.1–5). He seems to have been unusually favoured by the gods, especially at Aegospotami (11.11–13, 12.1–2). Oracles predicted his death at Haliartus (29.5–12). Sulla's religiosity and superstition centre around his fortune (cf. *Sull.* 6.5–13) and his epithet 'Felix' or 'Epaphroditus' (34.3–5), but Plutarch also records a large number of oracles and prodigies associated with his return to Italy (27.7–17) and other occasions (5.11, 9.6–8, 17.1–4, 28.8 and 12, and 37.2–3). Cf. also his honours to Venus and Apollo, 19.9, 29.11–12.
 - 17 Topographical and other notices on Boeotia are important in both *Lives*. Sulla won his victory over Mithridates' general at Chaeronea, and Lysander met his death at Haliartus, only a few miles from Plutarch's home.
 - 18 See Bucher-Isler 1972, 11–13, 31, 42, 58–9, Wardman 1974, 115–24, Frazier 1988. On *philotimia* in the *Lysander*, see Pelling 1988b, 269–70. Frazier notes the importance of this characteristic as a driving force in the *Lives*,

and especially the complexity of the notion in Plutarch. For the particular association of *philotimia* with Spartan society, see Plato *Rep.* 545 A and Frazier 1988, 117. Despite its frequency, *philotimia* is not one of the traits of *Pericles-Fabius*, the immediately following pair.

- 19 *Phoenissae* 531–4:

Τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι
φιλοτιμίας, παῖ; μὴ σὺ γ'· ἄδικος ἢ θεός·
πολλοὺς δ' ἐς οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας
ἐσήλθε κἀξήλθ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων.

Cf. on this passage de Romilly 1965,

- 20 Note at 7.3 *ὀλεθριωτάτην, δαιμόνιον*, echoing 4.6 *ὀλεθριωτάτην, δαίμονα*. Just before in speaking of Marius, Plutarch had spoken of his *δοξομανία καὶ φιλοτιμία* as *ἀγήρευτα παθή* (7.2).
- 21 Although military skill is not a principal interest of Plutarch's, it underlies the influence and achievements of both his heroes. If Lysander and Sulla had not been brilliantly successful in the military sphere, they would not have gained the power that they wielded so forcefully. Sulla's greater military skill (cf. 42[4].1, 43[5].6) contributed in no small part to the viciousness of his behaviour, since he could not be limited by rival armies. Pelling (1988b) demonstrates how Plutarch portrays the varied aspects of Lysander's character as an 'integrated' personality, where the various features fit naturally into the whole, surprising as they may seem at first.
- 22 Callicratidas is described as 'having notions worthy of Sparta, and being a rival to the finest of the Greeks in honesty, magnanimity, and courage'. See Pelling 1988b, 270 and Wardman 1974, 31–2. The hero acting as fox rather than lion reappears in the *Sulla*, in Carbo's *bon mot* after the tricking of Scipio (28.6). Deception of the enemy also appears in connection with the harshness of each, e.g. when Lysander promised to do the Milesians no wrong, then handed them over to be slain (*Lys.* 19.3) and when Sulla promised to spare those surrendering at Antemna, then massacred them (*Sull.* 30.2–4).
- 23 His friendship with Bocchus might also have been used as an example, but Plutarch does not make anything of it (3.2).
- 24 Thus 31.1, 33.3, etc. Note the repeated use of *χαριζόμενος*.
- 25 Plutarch will return to this proverbial expression of aristocratic independence at the end of the *Sulla*, 38.6.
- 26 Note also his support of partisan massacres in the captured Greek cities, 13.7, cf. Cartledge 1987, 90–3.
- 27 Our knowledge of Lysander's plans is almost nil, but see Cartledge 1987, 94–7 for a possible scenario.
- 28 The mention of melancholy refers back to the treatment of Lysander's character in the preface, where Aristotle had been cited for his melancholy in old age (2.5).
- 29 Note the use of *πικρίας* in the same phrase, recalling the *γλαυκότητα πικράν* of Sulla's eyes at 2.1.
- 30 See, for similar examples in the *Parallel Lives* of progression from the first to the second *Life* of a pair, Pelling 1986. Pelling, however, does not

- find that our understanding of the *Lysander-Sulla* is improved by considering the two *Lives* as a pair, p. 83.
- 31 Agesilaus wished to publish his discovery to the Spartans, so they might discover οἶος ὢν πολίτης διαλάθαι [ὁ Λύσανδρος] (30.4).
 - 32 Pelling 1988b, 272–3.
 - 33 For the order of the first ten *Lives*, see Jones 1966, esp. 66–8; Stadter 1983–4, 358–9, and 1989, pp. xxvii–xxix.
 - 34 On the similarities uniting the two *Lives*, see Stadter 1983–4, 358.
 - 35 Themistocles' competition with Aristides, as earlier his envy of Miltiades, caused him to abandon his youthful indiscipline and aim at great things (*Them.* 3). For his recall of Aristides, see *Them.* 11.1. For Plutarch, Themistocles' chief qualities are his ambition and intelligence; see Martin 1961. Note that Sulla, unlike Themistocles, never abandons his youthful dissoluteness.
 - 36 Pericles also was charged with self-importance, but his ὄγκος and φρόνημα had a philosophical base that both Themistocles and Camillus lacked. See especially *Per.* 4.5–5.3, 7.6. The trial for embezzlement recurs in *Per.* 32.3–4.
 - 37 Note that the present chapter corrects and enlarges upon the role of this pair in the sequence of *Lives* given in Stadter 1983–4, 358–9.
 - 38 The comparison of the two pairs provides an interesting sidelight on Plutarch's attitude toward Sparta. In the first ten pairs, only two Greek heroes are from Sparta, Lycurgus the lawgiver and Lysander. Lysander is clearly the least admirable figure of the ten Greeks. Themistocles, the Athenians' naval commander, saves his city; Lysander weakens it. Themistocles is compared to an early Roman, Lysander to the most vicious figure of the civil-war period. Of the other Spartan heroes, Agis and Cleomenes are compared to the Gracchi (both pairs suffer especially from *philodoxia*); Agesilaus to Pompey (both effective generals who were unable to be effective in their cities). Only Lycurgus among the Spartans is unequivocally presented in a positive light. Pericles stands out over both the Spartans and his fellow Athenians.
 - 39 Themistocles' acquisitiveness reappears in the *Lysander*; not in the hero himself but in the greed of other Spartans such as Gylippus. The correct attitude is found in Pericles' incorruptible honesty.
 - 40 Yet another parallel between the two pairs: the unsuitable attitudes toward the gods of Lysander and Sulla (the one manipulative, the other excessively superstitious) are contrasted to the sensible religious practices of Pericles and Fabius.
 - 41 Epaminondas was a model of *praotes*: see *Phil.* 3.1–2. On the contents of the *Epaminondas*, see Tuplin 1984. Its pair was most probably the *Scipio Aemilianus*, not the *Scipio Africanus*: see Herbert 1957 and Stadter 1989, p. xxviii n.12.
 - 42 See *Demetr.* 1 and Pelling 1986, 89–96; Pelling 1988a, 10–18.

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HISTORY AND ARTIFICE IN PLUTARCH'S *EUMENES*

A.B.Bosworth

In these enlightened days few would claim that Plutarch was in any sense writing history. Now one tends to give full weight to the explicit disclaimer in the *Life of Alexander* ('We are not writing history but lives').¹ What commands attention is Plutarch's illustration of character, his manipulation of anecdote and apophthegm in the service of literary portraiture. *βαῖα δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν ἄκοα σοφοῖς*. Pindar's claim for his epinikians seems to apply equally well to Plutarch. The formula is particularly appropriate to the longer, more elaborate *Lives*, where Plutarch, enviably familiar with the historical literature and steeped in the *topoi* of rhetoric, could draw upon an immense stock of material to bring out the complexities of his subject. But what of the less ambitious *Lives*, those that command a less impressive array of illustrative material, those in particular that serve as a foil for a richer biography? In those cases Plutarch might be expected to have operated more mechanically, limiting himself to material that provided parallels to or divergences from the dominant biography.

In this context the *Eumenes* is especially intriguing. Unlike most of the Greek *Lives* it is the second of its pair; and it is shorter and much poorer in its anecdotal content than its counterpart, the *Sertorius*. Plutarch was clearly more attracted by Sertorius than by Eumenes. It is Sertorius who dominates the Introduction, which is a superficial meditation on the recurrence of identical phenomena in history. There Plutarch proceeds via a series of examples to the remarkable syndrome of the one-eyed general. Philip II of Macedon, Antigonus, and Hannibal lead the way to Quintus Sertorius, who equalled them all in strategic acumen and eclipsed them in virtue.² It is only then that Eumenes makes his appearance as Sertorius'

Greek counterpart. The similarities are spelled out in a handful of lines: leadership, military cunning, exile from home, command of alien troops, betrayal by the men who gave them victory (*Sert.* 1.11–12). Then Plutarch turns abruptly to the biography proper, justifying his high initial praise of Sertorius. Eumenes is also the lesser figure in the final *synkrisis*. There his military ardour and lust for supremacy are contrasted unfavourably with Sertorius' disinterested patriotism and his ingrained desire for peace.³ In the final analysis Eumenes appears the less impressive, less sympathetic character, and one might expect Plutarch's treatment to have been more perfunctory.

The range of sources available for the *Eumenes* was more restricted than it was in many of the biographies. The predominant account was without doubt that of Hieronymus of Cardia, the greatest of the historians of the Successors.⁴ Hieronymus had served with Eumenes, conducted the negotiations with Antigonus at Nora, and was wounded at the climactic battle of Gabiene. The extraordinarily rich and informative picture of Eumenes that we find in Diodorus must come from him.⁵ But Eumenes bulked large in other historical works devoted to the Successors, notably Duris of Samos;⁶ and there seems to have evolved a corpus of received knowledge. The career of Eumenes provided a number of classic anecdotes that are digested by Polyaeus as models of strategy; in particular the stratagem of the Alexander tent and the slowing of Antigonus' advance south from Media.⁷ There was even an accepted biographical outline, as is clear from Cornelius Nepos' *Life of Eumenes*.⁸ That work runs parallel to Plutarch's biography in its general structure; and there are impressive coincidences of detail, most notably in the altercation with Onomarchus, where the two accounts tally almost word for word.⁹ There can be no question of direct borrowing, for Plutarch would hardly have used a Latin source for a Greek subject,¹⁰ and he provides much more concrete detail than we find in Nepos. Rather, there was a common stock of material which both authors adduced. It may have been assembled in part for the use of the rhetorical schools,¹¹ which would have made much of themes like the reproaches of Eumenes to his faithless troops.¹² This biographical corpus was extracted from standard historical models, Hieronymus and other Hellenistic sources, and there was probably a pool of anecdotal, exemplary material, which Plutarch could deploy selectively for his portrait, or caricature, of Eumenes.

I use the word ‘caricature’ advisedly. What strikes even the most casual reader is the number of glaring omissions in the *Life*.¹³ There is no attempt to deal with every phase of Eumenes’ career. Events that we know were covered more or less fully by Hieronymus are simply discarded. The clearest instance is Plutarch’s account of the final duel between Eumenes and Antigonos. The protracted and complex campaign in Susiana over the high summer of 317 BC is reduced to a few, largely meaningless lines.¹⁴ Above all, the great battle of Paraetacene—the first occasion on which rival phalanxes of native Macedonians fought each other on level terrain—is completely excised. If our source tradition was confined to Plutarch, we would naturally assume that Antigonos came within sight of the enemy, found Eumenes’ army in full battle readiness, and promptly withdrew (εὐθὺς ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ὀπίσω).¹⁵ One would never guess that between Antigonos’ arrival and departure there occurred one of the major battles of the ancient world. Plutarch had a sovereign disregard for the details of the great campaigns in Mesopotamia and Iran that engrossed the armed forces of the eastern world during 317 and 316. At this stage of his biography the important factor is Eumenes’ relations with his troops and colleagues, not the military details of the campaigns, and the latter are concentrated to near unintelligibility.

That brings us once again to the comparison with Sertorius. Over thirty years ago, Hartmut Erbse argued cogently that many of the peculiarities of Plutarch’s *Lives* can be explained by the necessity to create parallels and point antitheses.¹⁶ The *synkriseis*, which end most of the biographical pairs, are not mere rhetorical excrescences but indicators of what Plutarch considered key compositional factors. They summarize, often in crude schematical fashion, the similarities and differences that inform the biographies proper. Now the *synkrisis* of Sertorius and Eumenes is mercifully short and illuminating. It briefly gives the nub of comparison: both were exiles, aliens, and strangers who commanded large armies of different nationalities.¹⁷ Then Plutarch moves to a series of distinctions. Whereas Sertorius was offered his command freely by allies who wished to serve under him, Eumenes gained supremacy against a background of conflict and jealousy, accepted by his colleagues only because they were not able to achieve hegemony themselves (*Eum.* 20[1].3–4). Unlike Sertorius, he had many open opponents and secret detractors, and victory itself brought him envy and danger (*Eum.* 20[1].8–9). There follow two further contrasts. Eumenes’ character, unlike

Sertorius', was wedded to conflict (*Eum.* 21[2].1–2). He could have lived in safe and honourable circumstances had he resigned supremacy but he chose to continue fighting. Plutarch here explicitly recapitulates his earlier narrative, juxtaposing Antigonus' attempt to win Eumenes to his cause with Pompey's blank refusal to negotiate with Sertorius.¹⁸ Finally, he gives a somewhat unkind comparison of the circumstances of death. Unlike Sertorius, who was struck down unaware, Eumenes foresaw his fate and tried to escape it, both before and after his capture by Antigonus.¹⁹ Here the emphasis is moral and dramatic. Plutarch admits the strategic qualities of both his subjects, but he is chiefly interested in their relations with their troops and their fellow commanders and their reaction to the tensions of civil war. Those are the aspects we should expect to find stressed in the biographical narrative.

In the *Sertorius* the correspondence between *synkrisis* and narration is explicit. Plutarch permits himself an excursus on Sertorius' patriotism, emphasizing his offers to Metellus and Pompey to abandon hostilities altogether in return for simple rehabilitation at Rome, and reinforcing the gospel of the *synkrisis* that he was a man of peace but forced to arms by the vindictiveness of his enemies.²⁰ The same message is explicitly conveyed in the following chapter, in the contentious affair of Sertorius' embassy to Mithridates. Against the advice of his senate, Sertorius refused to cede Roman provincial territory, insisting on his concern for the integrity of the empire and stressing that life itself was no compensation for dishonour.²¹ Plutarch here anticipates his criticism of Eumenes in the *synkrisis* and nails down the altruism of Sertorius, which contrasts so strongly with the self-seeking of Eumenes.

There is no internal connection as striking as this in the *Eumenes* itself, but it is clear that the narrative proper was composed to illustrate the moral verdict expressed in the *synkrisis*. From the outset, Plutarch underlines Eumenes' ambiguous status as an alien in the Macedonian court, commenting on the jealousy he aroused. The very first chapter introduces his feud with Neoptolemus (*Eum.* 1.6); the second continues with the famous altercations he had with Hephaestion and the threats to his standing with Alexander;²² while the third brings in yet another set of inveterate enmities—that with Hecataeus,²³ which in part explained Eumenes' absence from his home city of Cardia, and that with Antipater.²⁴ These enmities and his good sense prevented his casting his lot with Leonnatus and entering the European stage. Instead, he took the fatal step of joining

the camp of Perdiccas (*Eum.* 3.12). The theme of jealousy continues with the refusal of Neoptolemus and Alcetas to submit to Eumenes' command in 321 and the fatal wrangle over leadership which destroyed any prospect of resisting Antigonus' offensive of 320/319.²⁵ It culminates in the account of the coalition war against Antigonus when (according to Plutarch) Eumenes' position as supreme commander was accepted only for expediency and was secure only in the direct face of invasion, when his talents were indispensable.²⁶

The other dominant theme is Eumenes' relations with his men and the devices he evolved to recruit and retain troops of different nationality, both Macedonian and Cappadocian. That helps explain the details of his administrative settlement of Cappadocia, with his friends in key military and civil positions, and his recruiting of a force of local cavalry by shrewd grants of immunity from taxation.²⁷ There was at the same time an implicit comparison with Sertorius, who also used remission of tribute and the abolition of enforced billeting to gain support in Spain and ensured that his native troops were exclusively commanded by his Roman entourage.²⁸ But far more important were Eumenes' Macedonians. Even before his famous acquisition of the Silver Shields he was able to annex Macedonian troops from Neoptolemus (in 321)²⁹ and command them over (it seems) three campaigning seasons. Plutarch tailors his narrative to illustrate the characteristic problems of command. When Eumenes faces Craterus, he has to take infinite pains to conceal the identity of his adversary and prevent mass desertion to the other side.³⁰ Similarly, Plutarch reports at length the stratagem of the Alexander tent and highlights Eumenes' success in winning the affection of his troops.³¹ They ultimately hail him—in Macedonian—as their supreme commander in an impressive display of military ardour.³² That adds extra irony to the betrayal which follows shortly afterwards.

Other features in the *synkrisis* are also given due prominence. Eumenes' vaulting ambition is duly illustrated with his rejection of at least two offers of accommodation, from Antipater and Craterus in 321 and from Antigonus in 319.³³ Both episodes perfectly illustrate Plutarch's final comment that Eumenes could have lived in security and with honour but continued the fight against the first men of the day. Finally—and unsurprisingly—the circumstances of Eumenes' capture and death are recorded, with appropriate emphasis on the betrayal by Teutamus and his Silver Shields, the very men who had

given him victory. Here alone the criticism in the *synkrisis* goes beyond the details in the biography proper. Plutarch mentions his intention to leave the camp before the final battle but presents it as a natural reaction to news of his impending betrayal.³⁴ And he says nothing about Eumenes' desire to live after capture and his entreaties to Antigonus. In fact, he makes a feature of his challenge to the Silver Shields to kill him before surrendering him to Antigonus.³⁵ But a rhetorical challenge of this nature (which Eumenes may not have expected to be acted upon) is not inconsistent with later private negotiations for his life. The exchange with Onomarchus, as Plutarch records it (*Eum.* 18.7–9), reveals a certain impatience in the face of fate, and he makes it clear that Eumenes had the option of suicide forcefully presented to him, when he was denied food for two or three days.³⁶ The plea for his life may well have come from one of Plutarch's sources, and it was reserved for the final *synkrisis*, to make an emphatic ending.³⁷ It made the greatest possible contrast with Sertorius' death. While the Roman died in happy ignorance of the conspiracy against him, Eumenes had full foreknowledge and did not react honourably to it (*Eum.* 21[2].6). That contrast is fully elaborated in the biography, but the moral censure is reserved for the *synkrisis*.

The formal comparison of Plutarch's two subjects provides a series of themes that are also illustrated in the course of the biographical narratives. But there is also a rough narrative similarity between the two *Lives*. Both can be interpreted as following the same compositional outline. A rapid rise to distinction and office is followed by initial military success. Then comes the *first peripeteia*: proscription at the hands of the faction victorious in civil war.³⁸ Next there is a time of troubles, a wandering from bolt-hole to bolt-hole under constant military harassment. This takes us to the nadir of fortune, Sertorius relegated to petty warfare in Mauretania and Eumenes under siege at Nora.³⁹ The crucial turn of fortune now comes for both, with unsolicited invitations of employment. Sertorius is transferred to Lusitania, to organize the native resistance there, while Eumenes is appointed royal general in Asia and given command of the Silver Shields.⁴⁰ Both men then engage in successful warfare against the leading generals of the day, until they are removed by treachery. The two narratives are clearly not mirror images, but they do display a similar ebb and flow of fortune, with the high and low points occurring at comparable stages.

As well as the correspondence in outline there is a similarity of detail, which must be the result of conscious choice by Plutarch. At the most obvious level, the famous stratagem of the Alexander tent with its elaborate stage management and deliberate manipulation of the troops' superstitious reverence for Alexander's memory (ἐπήγε δεισιδαιμονίαν) has its counterpart in the elaborate charade of Sertorius' pet deer, which he (Sertorius) intimated was the gift of Artemis and under divine protection, so appealing to the credulity of his Lusitanian allies.⁴¹ There are a number of less striking similarities. Both men have prices set on their heads by their enemies⁴² and both, as we saw, used similar devices to recruit and control native troops. Eumenes' destruction of his correspondence on the eve of Gabiene is matched by Pompey's burning the unread letters of Sertorius: in both cases the motive is the same, to prevent subsequent incrimination of the correspondents.⁴³ Any one of these parallels might be fortuitous, the result of random coincidence, but, taken together, they make an impressive case for careful artistic construction. The two *Lives* are parallel in the true meaning of the word. The biographies proper elucidate the grounds of similarity and contrast summarized in the Introduction and the *synkrisis*, and in both outline and detail they complement each other, each echoing in its different context themes from the other *Life*.

Given his elaborate parallel construction, it is highly unlikely that Plutarch took his material from any single source. He seems to have selected it according to the demands of his preconceived framework. I use the term 'select' deliberately, because Plutarch seems close to his source material, either referring directly to the text or having it virtually word-perfect in his memory. That can be deduced from the many occasions where the incident in question is repeated in other sources with comparable detail. Three episodes, taken probably from different sources, will illustrate the point. The first, which certainly derives from Hieronymus, deals with the prelude to the battle of Gabiene. Diodorus covers the same ground at somewhat greater length, and there is a concordance of matter and terminology. Both authors agree that the Silver Shields were veterans of Philip and Alexander and include the curious detail that most were over 70 years of age and none younger than 60 (grey power with a vengeance!).⁴⁴ They also give the veterans' reproach to their juniors in identical words (ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἀμαρτάνετε, ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί). But there is some reshaping in Plutarch. Instead of

a message delivered by a single herald (as in Diodorus), Plutarch makes the words of reproach a collective shout by the Silver Shields before joining battle.⁴⁵ It is a deliberate alteration to give the drama of the moment an increased emotional charge. The rest of the chapter is a similar inversion of Diodorus. Plutarch concentrates on two elements, the victory of the Silver Shields and Antigonos' cavalry stratagem, using the pall of salt dust to capture Eumenes' baggage train.⁴⁶ Paradoxically, he says nothing of Eumenes' heroic role in the battle, fighting Antigonos almost to a standstill with a smaller, exposed body of cavalry.⁴⁷ Instead, he focuses on the victory of the Silver Shields in the centre phalanx and the loss of the *aposkeue*, which led directly to the betrayal and surrender of Eumenes. Like Sertorius, he was ruined by the very men who had brought him victory. That is what Plutarch says explicitly in the Introduction (*Sert.* 1.12), and he arranges his material for the climactic battle so as to enlarge the theme. The details and, to some degree, the language derive from Hieronymus but the reporting is highly selective and the material is re-ordered to convey his moral message with the greatest impact.

The second episode is a set speech, the one extended formal oration in this pair of *Lives*, and interestingly Plutarch puts it in the mouth of Eumenes, whom he had earlier characterized as a persuasive rather than proficient speaker (*Eum.* 11.3). Sertorius, on the other hand, *was* a trained orator who elicited high praise from no less a critic than Cicero.⁴⁸ Plutarch was aware of the fact, yet he chose to give a specimen of Eumenes' oratory. It strongly suggests that he was reproducing a speech already recorded in his sources, not giving free rein to his own rhetorical invention. Plutarch describes how, on his way under guard to Antigonos' camp, Eumenes harangues his former troops and asks for death (*Eum.* 17.6–11). There is no such incident in Diodorus, who skips rapidly over the distasteful business, nor for that matter in Nepos who is, if anything, more laconic. For comparison we must turn to Justin,⁴⁹ who has the same story of Eumenes' address to the Silver Shields and, as tends to happen when rhetoric is at issue, his wretched travesty of an epitome broadens into a fairly full reproduction of his exemplar, Pompeius Trogus. It coincides remarkably with Plutarch. Both accounts begin with Eumenes extending his manacled hands to his audience.⁵⁰ Both versions then begin with reproaches. The troops are admitting defeat by surrendering their commander. The message is the same, but it is expressed much more forcefully and

metaphorically by Plutarch, who works up to an emphatic summary of Eumenes' plight: 'I am taken away undefeated, victorious over my enemies but ruined by my allies.'⁵¹ The two versions continue with remarkable correspondence. Eumenes asks for death then and there, claiming that it was no concern to Antigonus how he died. He next asks for a sword to take his own life and declares that in return he will acquit them of all guilt for his betrayal.⁵² That is material common to both versions. Each has a minimal amount of extra detail and slight variation in the rhetorical shaping, but it is beyond doubt that the two speeches come from a common source. The content clearly appealed to Plutarch. On the one hand, he was able to give maximum rhetorical expression to the leitmotiv that Eumenes fell at the hands of the men who served him. On the other, the appeal for death then and there might be construed as weakness, a horror at placing himself at the mercy of his declared enemy. From there to entreaties for his life, as described in the *synkrisis*, was a short step. Eumenes' impatience in the face of fate is a defect in Plutarch's eyes and he implicitly condemns it. The ideal for him was probably the impassivity and nobility displayed by Phocion when he met his death at Athens under equally tragic circumstances (*Phoc.* 36.1).

The comparison with Justin takes us no further. Trogus apparently added a further speech by Eumenes, calling a curse upon his faithless troops and foreshadowing their ultimate fate—unending fatigue and death in service (Just. 14.4.10–14). That was a theme Plutarch reserved to end the *Life*: the retribution which came upon the Silver Shields (they were relegated to Arachosia and never again set eyes on the Mediterranean).⁵³ It was a fitting conclusion, comparable to the fate of Sertorius' assassins, which ends the parallel *Life* (*Sert.* 27), and there was no need for anticipation. Instead, Plutarch includes a riposte by the Silver Shields themselves, callously belittling the plague from the Chersonese who had exposed the Macedonians to a myriad conflicts. His fate was nothing when set against their booty and their women—who had been enjoying the enemy's favours for far too long. The language is memorable. Eumenes is stigmatized as **Χερρονησίτης ὀλεθρός** (*Eum.* 18.2). Now the metaphorical use of **ὀλεθρός** is well attested in the classical period, but it is not a favourite mannerism of Plutarch. It recurs only twice—once in a piece of direct speech in the *Artaxerxes*, which is demonstrably taken from Ctesias,⁵⁴ and once in the *Sertorius* (6.6), where Sertorius' lieutenants chafe at paying passage money **βαρβάρους ὀλέθροις**. The latter

passage has the same grammatical shape as the Silver Shields' riposte in the *Eumenes*,⁵⁵ and there is surely a direct echo. Plutarch had the source material for Eumenes in his mind when he composed the *Sertorius* and re-used one of its most striking phrases. It certainly encapsulates Eumenes' central dilemma, the command of alien troops who cared little for him and despised his origins,⁵⁶ and it is saved for a climactic moment.

The third episode is slighter but still of interest. Plutarch reports a dialogue between Eumenes and his gaoler, Onomarchus. Eumenes expresses impatience, remarking that he should be either killed or liberated, and elicits a contemptuous response from Onomarchus, which he answers in his turn (*Eum.* 18.7–9). Now the dialogue is also reported by Nepos who records the exchange in almost exactly the same words (*Eum.* 11.3–5), clearly excerpting the same source. But there is a crucial difference. Nepos gives Eumenes the last word: he would have died in battle had he found his superior. That allows him a comment on the personal qualities of Eumenes, and the anecdote is used for an explicit eulogy. Plutarch, however, takes the dialogue one stage further. Onomarchus has the last word. Eumenes' proud boast that he had not met his superior in battle is deflated brutally, 'Well, since you have now found your better, why can't you wait upon his pleasure?' (*Eum.* 18.9). Plutarch is illustrating yet again his view that Eumenes' behaviour at the last was far from admirable, and he uses the dialogue as a device to draw attention to his unseemly impatience. He works upon the same subject matter as Nepos but it points to a moral lesson that is quite different.

The principles outlined so far can be extended. Plutarch, as we have seen, shapes his material to underscore the moral judgements that inform his biographical narrative. The moral criteria also determine the selection of sources. Plutarch may include material not for its intrinsic plausibility but because it has the right emphasis for his general interpretation. That is the case with the main demonstrable variant from the tradition of Hieronymus. When he describes Eumenes' escape from Nora towards the beginning of spring 318, Plutarch has an elaborate story whereby Antigonus negotiated with Eumenes through the agency of Hieronymus and proposed a formal alliance between the two of them. Eumenes, however, inserted the names of the kings and Olympias into the text of the oath, making Antigonus one of many signatories and not the dominant one. Antigonus duly refused to ratify the modified contract but by that time it was too late. Eumenes had extricated

himself from the siege and was in full flight after regrouping his scattered forces. Nepos seems to have the same story in brief, but it is not found elsewhere.⁵⁷ Instead, Diodorus speaks simply of a negotiated surrender. After Antipater's death, Antigonus saw the way open to cease hostilities with Eumenes and enlist him as an ally, returning him his satrapy and extending his powers. That was the message conveyed by Hieronymus, which Eumenes apparently accepted. He then came to terms with Antigonus.⁵⁸ Diodorus has nothing about any change to the terms of the oath or any renunciation by Antigonus. Indeed, his narrative suggests that there was an interval in which Eumenes reconsolidated his position in Cappadocia without interference. It was only after he received the famous letters offering him the command of the royal armies that he aroused Antigonus' suspicions and vacated Cappadocia in the face of an army sent by Antigonus to displace him.⁵⁹

This interval, already noted by E.M.Anson,⁶⁰ cannot be the result of careless summary by Diodorus. It is presupposed by the details of his narrative. When Eumenes left Cappadocia three days ahead of the invasion army, he moved into Cilicia, where he joined forces with the Silver Shields who had been instructed to place themselves under his command. Those instructions were sent out from Macedon at the same time as his appointment as commander-in-chief, and we are told that the Silver Shields came to meet him from a considerable distance.⁶¹ Where they came from is not stated. The question is rarely asked and, when it is, it is inadequately answered. Droysen's view⁶² that they were already in Cilicia transferring treasure from the central satrapies, is the most popular, but it is in direct conflict with Diodorus.⁶³ In fact, they had come from Susa. Their two commanders, Antigenes and Teutamus, were satraps. That is explicit in Diodorus, who states that they supported Eumenes rather than Antigonus in the hope that he would protect and expand their satrapies.⁶⁴ Now Antigenes had been appointed satrap of Susiana at the Triparadeisus redistribution, and, as Arrian notes explicitly, he was commander of the Silver Shields.⁶⁵ He chose Eumenes' side in 318 to guarantee his satrapy against Antigonus, and much of the campaign of 317 took place in his territory.⁶⁶

As for Teutamus, he is not mentioned as a beneficiary of the Triparadeisus settlement. If he was a satrap, as Diodorus states, it was in an area of secondary importance. One thinks of Paraetacene, on the borders of Persis and Susiana. Under Alexander it was ruled

as a separate entity by the son of the satrap of Susiana,⁶⁷ and it may well have been assigned to Teutamus in 321 in return for services rendered. At all events in 318 he was a near-neighbour of Antigenes, and the two apparently divided the Silver Shields between themselves. When the royal instructions arrived, they were able to combine their forces and march to Cilicia. Their troops were probably eager enough, with the ultimate prospect of returning to Europe under Eumenes' leadership.⁶⁸ They had been relegated to Mesopotamia after their contumacy at Triparadeisus and were now eager to rehabilitate themselves. Even if Antigenes had been disposed to ignore the royal directive, it is uncertain that his troops would have allowed him to do so.

The upshot is that the Silver Shields who welcomed Eumenes to Cilicia in the summer of 318 had already completed a march from southern Mesopotamia and (in Teutamus' case) possibly beyond. The arrival of the royal letters therefore came at least a month before the meeting in Cilicia, and, according to Diodorus (18.53.6), Eumenes had been at liberty from Nora some time before the letters of appointment reached him. In that case there was a considerable interval between the raising of the siege of Nora and Antigonos' dispatch of an army against him. The tradition in Diodorus must be correct, that in Plutarch and Nepos a fabrication. It conceals the fact that Eumenes came to terms with Antigonos and governed Cappadocia for a time as his lieutenant and stresses Eumenes' loyalty to the Macedonian throne, which (it is implied) preceded his appointment as royal general.⁶⁹ This was a story more flattering to Eumenes than even Hieronymus devised, and Plutarch opted for it. He had no choice, given his interpretation of Eumenes' character. For him Eumenes was uncompromising in his ambition for supremacy and refused all negotiations which would give him a secondary role. He had refused to acknowledge Antigonos' superiority before the siege of Nora, declaring that he considered nobody his better while he was master of his sword (an apophthegm which foreshadows—surely deliberately—the dialogue with Onomarchus).⁷⁰ But Hieronymus apparently claimed that Eumenes surrendered, albeit on favourable terms, and accepted a status as the first of Antigonos' friends.⁷¹ That was what Plutarch explicitly denied in the *synkrisis* and, not surprisingly, he passed over the story without comment.

Plutarch showed the same discretion with other elements of the tradition. The most striking instance, I think, is the treatment of

the threat to Eumenes' leadership during the final campaign. For Plutarch it is a relatively simple story. Eumenes was the victim of persistent jealousy. The commanders of the upper satrapies accepted his leadership out of necessity, for they had degenerated after being exposed to peace and luxury, but, once the threat from Antigonos diminished, they attempted to undermine his command and even plotted to kill him.⁷² The story is not only simple but simplified. It reduces the actors to a handful: Eumenes against the commanders of the Silver Shields and—the main villain of the piece—Peucestas, satrap of Persis. It is clear enough that Peucestas appeared in a rather unfavourable light in Hieronymus. He was responsible for the cavalry defeat on Eumenes' left at the crucial battle of Gabiene and resented the fact that he had not been appointed commander-in-chief for the summer campaign in Mesopotamia.⁷³ But Hieronymus explained his attitude and emphasized the courage that won his promotion under Alexander. Plutarch, however, turns him into a mere foil for Eumenes, a cowardly poltroon who practically expires with terror at the news of Antigonos' unexpectedly rapid advance (a sensational exaggeration, based on Hieronymus' picture of his ἀθυσία and his cautious defensive strategy)⁷⁴ and loses the cavalry battle at Gabiene by his slack and ignoble leadership.⁷⁵ Peucestas, moreover, symbolizes the satrapal coalition, all of whom (Plutarch implies) shared his unpleasant characteristics. This does little justice to the complex nature of the coalition. Plutarch says nothing about Peithon, satrap of Media, and his hegemonic ambitions in the upper satrapies, which forced his neighbours to combine against him.⁷⁶ Not all satraps were represented in person in the coalition war, and those who came had different motives and ambitions. But all are combined by Plutarch into an amorphous mass, with Peucestas highlighted as the coryphaeus.

The struggle for leadership was far more complex than the biographer implies. In particular, Eumenes took a more aggressive role than he suggests. Initially, the dispute took place in Susiana, and the main quarrel was between Peucestas who supplied the largest contingent and Antigenes in whose satrapy the campaign was to be fought. It was Eumenes' stratagem to extend the operation of the Alexander tent to all commanders, so that decisions were collective decisions and he as royal general was chairman.⁷⁷ Subsequently he intrigued to secure his own position. Plutarch reports one device and one only, that of taking loans from his most feared

rivals, so that they would protect him out of solicitude for their investments (*Eum.* 13.12–13). The anecdote is thematically important. It enucleates the dilemma of Eumenes, afraid for his own life, and looks ahead to the eve of Gabiene, when Eumenes learned of the imminent plot against him, through the agency of two of his worried creditors (*Eum.* 16.3). There is nothing of the latter episode in Diodorus. He knows of Eumenes' loans and agrees on the motive, but the story comes in a much more sophisticated context.⁷⁸ Indeed, one of the creditors named by Plutarch (the elephant-master, Eudamus) appears somewhat earlier in Diodorus as a recipient of largess. Eumenes gave him 200 talents from the treasury at Susa, ostensibly as maintenance for his animals, but in reality as a bribe (Diod.19.15.5). In other words, he was guilty of the same corruption as his rivals for power.

Eumenes could also stoop to more sinister intrigue. He did not wait to be undermined but took the offensive. There is a famous story, reported by Diodorus and Polyaeus, that he forged a letter (in Aramaic) from Peucestas' friend, the satrap of Armenia. It announced the death of Cassander, the ascendancy of the royal party in Macedon, and the imminent arrival of a new army under Polyperchon. It was addressed to Peucestas, but damaged his prospects and was therefore believed. Eumenes' influence increased correspondingly.⁷⁹ He also attacked Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia, whom he indicted before the army, and sent cavalry to capture his baggage (*aposkeuai*), no doubt to seize incriminating documents. Sibyrtius was moved to flight, to avoid inevitable condemnation.⁸⁰ It was only after he had intimidated and bluffed his rivals in this way that Eumenes offered the carrot and won over Peucestas through diplomacy, and the rest of the satraps and generals by subsidies from his personal loans scheme.

It is most implausible that Plutarch was unaware of Eumenes' backstairs intrigue. The forged letter was clearly a famous episode, well enough known to find its way into Polyaeus' compilation, which otherwise contains material common to Plutarch. And the threat to Sibyrtius was extremely pertinent to the ultimate fate of the Silver Shields. Antigonus consigned them to the tender mercies of Sibyrtius on whom they had almost committed judicial murder.⁸¹ It was an edifying and ironical turn of fate, which Plutarch could well have commented upon. But he chooses to ignore the entire episode, and the reason is obvious. These activities of Eumenes could not easily be fitted into his biographical schema. The comparison with

Sertorius required that Eumenes took over a command that was unexpectedly offered, and the *synkrisis* insists that he maintained his predominance through his unique strategic talents. Though jealous and resentful, his rivals could not challenge his leadership when the military crisis came. This simple and satisfying picture is not easily compatible with the story of guile and deceit that Diodorus extracted from Hieronymus. Eumenes' tools there were intimidation, forgery, and flattery; and he used them with total lack of scruple to overturn the advantage Peucestas had acquired with his own men. He was not the natural commander outshining a host of pygmies but one of the ruck, scrabbling for pre-eminence by the same disreputable methods as were used by his rivals. That emerges clearly enough from Hieronymus' account, slanted though it was in Eumenes' favour. A sceptical critic might wish to know far more about Antigenes, the ambitious satrap who threw in his lot with Eumenes to extend his own power, and challenged Peucestas' arrogation of command. In some ways he was Antigonus' most bitter enemy and was burned to death with horrific savagery after the battle of Gabiene.⁸² There is nothing about this in Plutarch. He notes in passing that only Teutamus intrigued with Antigonus over Eumenes' surrender.⁸³ That implicitly excludes Antigenes, but Plutarch leaves the omission to speak for itself. It seems certain that Antigenes would have no truck with Antigonus and was as much (if not more so) a wanted man as Eumenes himself. One suspects that his importance and influence were somewhat played down by Hieronymus, to the greater glory of Eumenes. If so, the process was continued and exaggerated by Plutarch, who reduced the interplay of rivalry to a simple struggle by Eumenes against the undifferentiated mass of hostile colleagues.

The defects of Plutarch's treatment are glaring enough. He has a grossly simplified interpretation of Eumenes' character and career, an interpretation moreover that is carefully tailored to balance the treatment of Sertorius. To that end, he selects material from all sources at his disposal without concern for their intrinsic probability. The criterion is consistency, not credibility. Even the reproduction of source material is of questionable accuracy. Plutarch removes the complexities of the actual historical situation and smoothes away contradictions, so that the resulting picture is monotone and bland. That might lead one to despair. Without the corrective of other sources, notably Diodorus, Plutarch would leave us with a travesty, a tissue of anecdotes taken out of context to illustrate an artificial,

over-simplified view of Eumenes' life. But, with the *Eumenes* at least, there is a relatively rich tradition against which we can set Plutarch, and the anecdotes he transmits for illustrative purposes can be important and instructive, provided that we can trace some of the original context.

An interesting case study is provided by chapters 8 and 9 of the *Life*. Here Plutarch gives an account of Eumenes' *Wanderjahre*, the period of vicissitudes between his victory over Craterus and his confinement in Nora. As we have seen, this section corresponds to chapters 7 to 9 of the *Sertorius*, where Plutarch's hero flees from Spain to Libya, from Libya to the Balearic Isles, from there again to Gades, from Gades back to Mauretania, after an abortive dream of retirement to the Isles of the Blessed. When he turns to Eumenes, Plutarch is concerned to show his subject moving from place to place under continuous harassment and points out the uses of adversity. Misfortune and even defeat called for the highest qualities of generalship and brought his talents into sharpest focus (*Eum.* 9.1–2). The theme evokes a sequence of illustrative anecdotes, marking Eumenes' wanderings, his firm grip on the loyalty of his troops, and his inspired strategy, even in defeat. When set in their context, they give a rich insight into an obscure period of history and even provide the key to fixing the vexed chronology of the first coalition war.

Plutarch begins the section with a brief and largely uncontroversial report of Perdiccas' defeat in Egypt and the consequent sentence of death passed on his lieutenants, notably Eumenes (*Eum.* 8.1–3). He then moves directly to the campaign in Asia Minor which Antipater and Antigonus fought against the Perdiccan faction. First comes a brief reference to Eumenes' requisitioning of royal horses in Hellespontine Phrygia, next Eumenes' unsuccessful stay in Sardes and his relations with Cleopatra and his subsequent move into Greater Phrygia, where he spent the winter, disputing the hegemony with the other leaders of the Perdiccan faction (*Eum.* 8.5–8). There follow two undated anecdotes, the first a description of Eumenes' adept acquisition of loot to pay his army (*Eum.* 8.9–11) and the second his troops' reaction to the enemy offer of 100 talents for his death (*Eum.* 8.11–12).

Plutarch gives no framework for his anecdotes other than the general context of the campaign. That framework, however, is provided by other sources. There are some fragments shored against our ruin. Diodorus is silent about the beginnings of the campaign in

Asia Minor, but there is a brief account of some interest in Justin (14.1). More significant are the remains of the tenth book of Arrian's *History of the Successors*, which dealt with the first season of the campaign in considerable detail, ending with Antipater's return to Europe. We have Photius' outline of the narrative, which is comparatively detailed;⁸⁴ and quite recently there emerged a brief section of the original, preserved on two palimpsest folios in the University of Göteborg, which covers some of the material in *Eumenes* 8.⁸⁵ That permits the reconstruction of much of the campaigning year of 320 BC.

The requisitioning of horses cannot be placed in the campaign. Plutarch suggests that Antipater was relatively near at hand and that Eumenes was busy acquiring remounts for the forthcoming fighting, but there is no indication of the historical context. The next anecdote, the meeting with Cleopatra at Sardes, is much better attested. Arrian/Photius and Justin both deal with the episode and confirm that it occurred just before Antipater himself arrived in Lydia and scolded Cleopatra for her Perdiccan sympathies. Photius' digest does no more than repeat the gist of what Plutarch says, concentrating on Cleopatra's reluctance to incriminate herself more deeply by direct support of Eumenes.⁸⁶ Justin, however, goes further. He indicates that Eumenes moved on Sardes from the north, from Aeolia where he had been supporting his army from the countryside⁸⁷ (and was well positioned to raid the royal stud on Mt Ida). He also enlarges on Plutarch's claim that Eumenes wished to display his army to Cleopatra. According to Justin,⁸⁸ Eumenes had his officers (*centuriones principesque*) confirmed in their posts by the princess. His nominees therefore had the charisma that came from approval by the sister of Alexander and daughter of Philip. That was a premonition of the Alexander tent; Eumenes was careful to buttress his own shaky authority by involving the dead king, in spirit or through his sister.

Justin goes on to deal with the price on Eumenes' head, which he places immediately after the visit to Sardes.⁸⁹ It fits well in that context, before the opening of hostilities, when Antipater and Antigonus might have wished to save themselves the effort of a pitched battle by paying for Eumenes' death. The corresponding anecdote in Plutarch is chronologically isolated, tacked thematically on to Eumenes' stratagem for raising funds (*Eum.* 8.11). But it clearly belongs to the same historical context as the story in Justin. That is implied by the elliptical and puzzling statement that Eumenes 'had

the power' to distribute the purple *kausia* and cloaks that were characteristic of friends of the king.⁹⁰ It is unlikely that Eumenes ever took the step of arrogating royal prerogatives to himself; but after his visit to Sardes, when he obtained Cleopatra's seal of approval for his army appointments, he probably felt justified in marking out those honoured as friends of court, promoted not by himself but by the royal princess.⁹¹ In other words, Eumenes visited Cleopatra and returned to camp with her blessing for his appointments. He conferred the dress of court favourites upon his officers and the largess he dispensed helped repulse the overtures of Antipater and Antigonus. His men rejected the invitation to remove him and appointed as bodyguards the very people he had promoted. The story comes naturally in the aftermath of Eumenes' reception at Sardes, but Plutarch takes it out of its historical context and adduces it as an example of the affection he enjoyed with the troops.

The central section of the chapter is the most interesting. In it Plutarch notes Eumenes' retreat up-country to the Phrygian capital of Celaenae. There he places the dispute over hegemony with the Perdiccan leaders, Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus (*Eum.* 8.8); and he moves on to describe in somewhat greater detail Eumenes' scheme of paying his men with the booty acquired through raids on the local rural strongholds (*Eum.* 8.9–10). This material recurs in Arrian. In his digest of the *Successors* Photius records the system of payment through loot, though he expresses himself very blandly, and he places the episode immediately before the negotiations with the Perdiccan commanders.⁹² A flood of light is shed on these transactions by the newly discovered Göteborg palimpsest.⁹³ It begins with a very mutilated passage dealing with the loot and confirms what Photius merely suggests, that the ravaging of the subject territory took place in the face of the enemy and was directed against strongholds already occupied and garrisoned by Antipater. The simultaneous attack on a great many fronts meant that it was impossible to co-ordinate the defence. It is a little uncertain how Eumenes divided the spoils, but it looks as though the unfortunate victims were held to ransom and had to redeem what they had lost (slaves and livestock) at an exorbitant rate.⁹⁴ But the end-result is crystal clear. Eumenes won general admiration for his acumen and the gratitude of his troops who had enriched themselves without labour or danger, while Antipater lost face for his failure to protect his subjects from a force much smaller and less expert than his own army.

There follows an account of the negotiations with the Perdiccan commanders. Arrian confirms that they took place 'while winter still prevailed'⁹⁵ and gives the names of the four generals (Alcetas, Attalus, Polemon, and Docimus), who also occur in Plutarch⁹⁶ and are known to have taken refuge in Pisidia. The content of Eumenes' proposals is given in a detailed stretch of oratio obliqua; they should combine their forces in the hope of forcing Antipater and Antigonus to a capitulation that would guarantee them the territory they occupied (Antipater and Antigonus would then revert to the positions they were awarded at the Babylon settlement).⁹⁷ The palimpsest ends a few lines later after noting Alcetas' eagerness to acquire Eumenes' Macedonian troops for his own army. Arrian clearly gave a full account of these fateful negotiations and went into some detail over the personal motivation of the rival commanders. Alcetas at least, he implies, was aiming at the combined command. Photius also confirms that the negotiations ended with the rejection of Eumenes' plan. This is a far richer story than we find in Plutarch, who merely refers to the dispute over the command and seems most concerned to report Eumenes' apophthegm: *ἀλέθρου δ' οὐθεις λόγος*. Plutarch is clearly correct in dating the events to the winter. Nevertheless, he tampers with the overall chronological order of events to draw the general moral more forcefully: Eumenes was yet again the victim of the jealousy of his peers, but despite that he was able to gain and retain popularity with the rank-and-file. The details, however, are consistent with the fuller account in Arrian.

What emerges from the anecdotal mosaic of *Eumenes* 8 is a series of vivid pictures taken out of context, and the chronology is deliberately dislocated, the better to illustrate Eumenes' character as Plutarch sees it. We have the detritus of a rich tradition documenting the opening of the campaign against Eumenes. The story began with Eumenes consolidating his army close to the Aegean coast, just below the massif of Mt Ida. As the combined army of Antigonus and Antipater approached, fresh from the conference of Triparadeisus and commissioned to destroy the Perdiccan forces in Asia Minor, Eumenes visited Cleopatra in Sardes. He tried to win over the princess to support him unequivocally and back him with the forces in her satrapy, but he had to be content with her confirmation of his army appointments and gave up his first plan of mounting his offensive in the plains of Lydia. The next stage was a drive inland to greater Phrygia, where he occupied Antigonus' old satrapal capital and planned to contain the royal armies in the Anatolian plateau. Winter

saw him at grips with Antipater, keeping his army content and well-paid by systematic looting of the territory garrisoned by the enemy. The royal armies at this stage were apparently divided, with Antigonos operating separately, away from direct contact with Eumenes.⁹⁸ Antipater had the worse of the encounter, and the humiliation Eumenes inflicted on him was apparently too much for the old regent. He conferred with his son Cassander in his Phrygian headquarters and made the decision to return to Macedon with the kings (Arr. *Succ.* F 1.42). Antigonos would be invested with total control of the war against Eumenes, which was much simplified by the stubborn refusal of the Perdiccan commanders to form a common front. When the next campaigning season began, Antipater accordingly made over half his army to Antigonos and withdrew to the Hellespont, while Eumenes retreated to his home territory of Cappadocia in the face of a spirited offensive by Antigonos.⁹⁹ By midsummer he had been decisively defeated¹⁰⁰ and withdrew to the fortress of Nora.

So far, I have deliberately avoided a precise dating. The chronology of the first coalition war is a hotly debated issue, centring around the defeat of Perdiccas in Egypt and the ensuing conference at Tripuradeisus. Those events were traditionally assigned to the summer of 321 BC, but it has become increasingly the fashion to date them to the following year, 320.¹⁰¹ It seems to me that the campaign between Antipater and Eumenes, as it is here reconstructed, swings the balance decisively towards the traditional view. We have pieced together some of the delicate manoeuvring and counter-manoevring that marked the beginning of that campaign, and the key fact, confirmed by both Plutarch and Arrian, is that Eumenes spent the first winter of the war in Phrygia, sparring against Antipater and his army. Now Antipater died in Macedon in the autumn of 319.¹⁰² That is a fixed point. The winter in Phrygia is that of 320/319 or that of 321/320.

Let us now turn to the other end of the story. Perdiccas met his death in Egypt in the high summer. I have no intention to fathom the complexities of the Babylonian Chronicle of the Successors, but some reference is inevitable. The first extant entry, dated to the month of Aiaru in what appears to be the fourth year of Philip Arrhidaeus, records a battle between the king and the satrap of Egypt. After a brief lacuna there is a possible reference to the death of the guardian of the king.¹⁰³ At this stage I am simply out to indicate the season of the year; the problems of the regnal date do

not concern me here.¹⁰⁴ In other words, whatever the year of Perdiccas' invasion of Egypt, it was in full swing by the month of Aiaru (May to June of the Julian calendar), when a major battle took place. It was also a reasonably protracted affair, ranging from Pelusium to Memphis before Perdiccas was finally assassinated by his disgruntled troops.¹⁰⁵ His death may have come weeks or even months after the battle that is dated in the Chronicle. It hardly occurred before midsummer.¹⁰⁶ Now the news of Eumenes' great victory over Craterus arrived two days after Perdiccas' death (Plut. *Eum.* 8.3), and at that stage Antipater was still in the interior of Asia Minor, close enough to the scene of battle to receive the survivors and enrol them in his own army.¹⁰⁷ He then made his way to Cilicia and Upper Syria, where he joined forces with the royal army, which had retraced its steps to the prearranged liaison point of Triparadeisus.¹⁰⁸ We have no exact statement of the interval between Perdiccas' death and the conference at Triparadeisus, but it can hardly be less than two months. That takes us to the advent of autumn. There followed the negotiations over the new satrapal assignments and the dangerous mutiny that threatened Antipater's life.

That makes it practically impossible that the winter that Eumenes and Antipater spent under arms in Phrygia was the winter that followed Triparadeisus. Antipater and Antigonus had presided over the division of satrapies at Triparadeisus and relocated the armies assembled there. With their own forces and the royal entourage they returned through Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia to the palace at Sardes. After a torrid interview with Cleopatra, Antipater went up-country again, to the Phrygian borderland, and it was only then that winter supervened. That cannot be the winter after Triparadeisus. Even with the best of wills and the worst of forced marches it was not feasible to cover the ground in the time available. It is more likely that Antipater and the royal personages remained on the Syrian coast after the conference and spent the winter in the palace complexes there. The following year they returned to the Aegean, confronted Cleopatra at Sardes, and took the war inland to Phrygia. If this reconstruction is correct, Perdiccas died in summer 321; the conference at Triparadeisus took place in the autumn of the same year. In the spring of 320 Antipater started his journey to the Aegean, and he began serious hostilities against the Perdiccan faction in the summer. The campaign in Phrygia, when Eumenes was at Celaenae, must therefore belong to the winter of 320/319.

This chronology, which seems to me unavoidable, is strongly supported by what we know of the history of the Perdiccan leaders. Among the proscribed generals who cast their lot with Alcetas and were in Pisidia while Eumenes was in Celaenae were Attalus and Docimus. Both had chequered and eventful careers. Attalus was Perdiccas' admiral (and brother-in-law) and was in the vicinity of Pelusium at the time of the assassination.¹⁰⁹ He withdrew to Tyre, which he turned into a refuge point for the friends of Perdiccas, and he was apparently still there at the time of Triparadeisus, when he played some part (presumably by letter) in the intrigue against Antipater.¹¹⁰ After that he moved to Asia Minor with a considerable armada and began operations in Caria. It was only when he was worsted by a Rhodian fleet that he joined forces with Alcetas.¹¹¹ If, then, the dispute with Eumenes over the combined leadership belongs to the winter after Triparadeisus, he would have left Tyre in the autumn, moved to Asia Minor at the worst sailing season, fought a campaign in Caria and retreated to Alcetas' headquarters—all in a matter of four months or so. It is far more probable that he moved to Asia Minor in the spring of 320 and attacked Cnidus and Caunus in the summer before withdrawing to Alcetas' winter quarters.

The movements of his fellow refugee, Docimus, provide near-confirmation. Docimus is a comparatively rare name, and it is very unlikely to have been borne by more than one of Perdiccas' intimates. Now the Vatican fragments of Arrian's *Successors* provide a rich vein of information about the career of Docimus, who is alleged to have been one of Perdiccas' most trustworthy lieutenants.¹¹² He was sent to Babylonia from Cilicia, on the eve of the invasion of Egypt, with instructions to depose and eliminate the incumbent satrap, Archon. What follows is fragmentary, but it is clear that Archon decided to challenge the new appointee and a full-scale war developed in the Babylonian *chora*, in which Archon was first wounded and then died. It was only then that Docimus was accepted as satrap of Babylon.¹¹³ The details of this episode are exceedingly obscure, but the outline is assured. It follows that while Perdiccas was engaged in his fatal invasion of Egypt Docimus was simultaneously fighting a campaign for the satrapy of Babylonia, and he cannot have established himself much before the death of Perdiccas. Indeed it may have been later. The Babylonian Chronicle notes the entry of the satrap into Babylon some time in the month of Arasamnu (around November).¹¹⁴ That is usually explained as

the arrival of Seleucus, taking up the satrapy assigned him at Triparadeisus, but it must be a possibility that the satrap is Docimus, who had finally established himself. A campaign of some months against Archon is not out of the question.

Whatever the exact chronology one adopts, one must assume that Docimus was still in Babylonia at the time of Triparadeisus. Some time after the news of his supersession by Seleucus he moved westwards to join the main bulk of the Perdiccan forces in Asia Minor, and, as we have seen, he was one of the commanders who disputed the hegemony during Eumenes' winter in Phrygia.¹¹⁵ If that was the winter immediately after Triparadeisus, he travelled with great rapidity. It is much more comfortable to posit that he moved from Babylon over the first winter and found his way to Alcetas' headquarters during the following campaigning season. In that case Seleucus assumed the satrapy in the year after Triparadeisus, when his name appears for the first time in the Babylonian Chronicle. If, as seems inevitable, that year was 320, then his first period as satrap (down to his expulsion by Antigonos in summer 316) corresponds nicely to the τετραετής χρόνος of Diodorus.¹¹⁶ It is therefore most convenient if we have Docimus establish himself in Babylonia over the summer of 321, vacate the satrapy after the news of the Triparadeisus settlement reached him, and move to the theatre of hostilities in Asia Minor during the summer of 320.

Everything suggests that the campaign against Eumenes was slow to develop momentum. It began in the summer of 320 and dragged on into the following winter, at the end of which Antipater transferred the campaign to Antigonos and returned to Europe. Plutarch has extracted a sample of anecdotes from the tradition, which was evidently extensive, and, set in context, his account helps fill out the events of the year. But his material cannot be used in isolation. One needs more evidence that is specifically historical to reconstruct the chronological framework and add perspective to the anecdotes. Plutarch selected the merest fraction of the material available to him. That is clear from the analysis of *Eumenes* 8 and still clearer from the following chapter. There Plutarch covers Eumenes' strategy in defeat and gives—at some length—two characteristic episodes. One of these, the refusal to capture Antigonos' baggage train, is of considerable structural importance.¹¹⁷ It parallels a stratagem of Sertorius, who like Eumenes frustrated the desires of his men for

the ultimate good of the campaign, and looks forward to the climax of the *Life*, where the *aposkeue* of the Silver Shields proves the downfall of Eumenes.¹¹⁸ The successes are what concern Plutarch in this context. The defeats are only hinted at, and there is no record of the crucial battle in which Antigonos secured the desertion of Eumenes' cavalry commander and captured Eumenes' supply train.¹¹⁹ Instead, Plutarch reads as though Eumenes dismissed his troops as a matter of policy, since his army could not defeat the enemy in pitched battle and was too large for rapid movement.¹²⁰ Diodorus' account by contrast is brutally simple: Eumenes was defeated in the field and his men deserted *en masse*.¹²¹ That was not easily absorbed into Plutarch's general picture of Eumenes the charismatic commander, and he selected the tradition that turned the desertions into a virtue of necessity. The climactic battle (like the battle of Paraetacene) was simply omitted, since it was of no thematic importance.

The general conclusions to be drawn are somewhat dispiriting for the historian. Plutarch's preoccupations, as one would expect, are moral and artistic. What he is looking for is a neat, consistent interpretation of character that makes for satisfying comparison and contrast with the parallel *Life*. Material is selected as it proves appropriate to the model and important episodes are discarded without scruple if they have no obvious illustrative value. Over-simplification is the norm. By and large, the historical context is unimportant, sometimes an embarrassment, and it is reduced to a minimum or excised altogether. What is left is a sequence of vivid, pointed anecdotes, strung together in rough chronological sequence but arranged to support Plutarch's moral analysis. His *Eumenes* is a far cry from any picture of Eumenes he can have found in the historical literature he used. It is an artificial creation to provide a counterpart to his *Sertorius* and can only be understood against the background of the *Sertorius*. The richness of anecdote is valuable, but only when there is a full or reasonably full historical tradition to supplement it. In isolation Plutarch is dangerously misleading. It is not merely that he is writing biography, not history. He is writing *parallel* biographies, and there is an additional dimension to the distortion. The material is not merely subsumed to a view of character: the view itself is artificial, determined by the need for similarity and contrast. The *Eumenes* and the *Sertorius* are particularly closely correlated, and they serve as a model for Plutarchian criticism. The principles at work can and should be

generalized. And for the historian working with Plutarch there is a stark message. Heaven help you if your evidence is the *Lives* and the *Lives* alone!

NOTES

- 1 Plut. *Alex.* 1.1–2; *Nic.* 1.5. Cf. Hamilton 1969, pp. xxxvii–xliii; Wardman 1971; Pelling 1988, 10–12. For a lapidary statement see Hillard 1987, 21: ‘It is now a commonplace to remark...that Plutarch regarded the biographer’s task as quite distinct from that of the historian’. See also de Romilly 1988, esp. 22–3.
- 2 *Sert.* 1.8–10; cf. *Africa* 1970, esp. 532–5.
- 3 *Eum.* 21(2).1, 5; cf. *Sert.* 9.1, 22.7–12, 23.7.
- 4 This seems generally agreed: cf. Westlake 1969, 315; Hornblower 1981, 68. Plutarch cites Hieronymus three times in the *Pyrrhus*, where on each occasion he is adduced as one of variant sources (*FGrH* 154 F 11, 12, 14). In the *Eumenes*, as in the *Demetrius* (*Demetr.* 39.3–7= *FGrH* 154 T 8), Plutarch gives biographical detail about Hieronymus, which superficially agrees with Diodorus (*Eum.* 12.2; cf. *Diod.* 18.50.4), but the general context is quite different (see below pp. 65–7). There is little doubt that Plutarch had direct knowledge of Hieronymus (for attempts to identify a *Zwischenquelle* see Seibert 1983, 43), but it is equally clear that he did not use him uniquely.
- 5 Again almost *communis opinio*. For the literature see Seibert 1983, 32–6 and, most recently, Hornblower 1981, 18–62; F.W. Walbank *CAH* vii².1 (1984) 2–3.
- 6 The only named source in the *Eumenes* is Duris (*Eum.* 1.1=*FGrH* 76 F 53), and one may reasonably assume that he was adduced more than once. See, however, Kébric 1977, 59–60: ‘there is nothing to suggest a direct reliance upon Duris’.
- 7 Polyæn. 4.8.2 (cf. Plut. *Eum.* 13.4–8); 4.8.4 (cf. Plut. *Eum.* 15.9–13); 4.8.5 (cf. Plut. *Eum.* 9.6–10). Eumenes’ ingenious exercise methods for his horses at Nora (Plut. *Eum.* 11.4–9) are reported in Frontinus, *Strat.* 4.7.34.
- 8 I am not arguing that there was a formal Hellenistic biography as such, which Nepos and Plutarch both used. That hypothesis has been sharply and persuasively challenged in recent times (cf. Geiger 1985, esp. 58–62), and it is unnecessary.
- 9 Nepos *Eum.* 11.3–5; Plut. *Eum.* 18.7–9. See below, p. 65, where it is shown that Plutarch cannot have drawn upon Nepos directly, as he does in the Roman *Lives* (Geiger 1985, 60; Pelling 1988, 30).
- 10 I take the disclaimer at *Dem.* 2.2–4 literally.
- 11 For the importance of historical *exempla* in the rhetorical schools see Hamilton 1969, pp. xxii–xxxiii, with analysis of Plutarch’s epideictic speeches *De Alexandri fortuna*. On the wider use of Alexander anecdotes in rhetoric see now Bosworth 1988, esp. 75–83, 142–56. Hellenistic personalities seem to figure less frequently in the rhetorical corpus (cf. Geiger 1981, esp. 89–94), but Plutarch at least uses

- anecdotes from the post-Alexander period with a casual familiarity (see below, n. 12).
- 12 *Eum.* 17.5–11. See below, pp. 63–4. Plutarch refers to Eumenes once outside the biography proper, as an example of the virtues of discretion (*De garrul.* 9,506 D-E; cf. *Eum.* 6.6–7.2). This might be an echo of the narrative in the *Life*, but equally it could be a standard rhetorical example, like the anecdote about Seleucus Callinicus (*De garrul.* 12,508 D-F), which has no counterpart in any of the extant *Lives*.
 - 13 Cf. Westlake 1969, 316: 'Plutarch apparently grew tired of Eumenes'.
 - 14 *Eum.* 14.3. For the fuller tradition compare Diod. 19.12–15, 17–20. There are further enigmatic details in the Babylonian Chronicle of the Successors (cf. Schober 1981, 69–73).
 - 15 *Eum.* 15.3; cf. Diod. 19.24.6, 26.7–8. Nepos (*Eum.* 8.1) is equally brief and garbled, but he is explicit that a battle took place.
 - 16 Erbse 1956. Cf. Stadter 1975; Pelling 1988, 19–23.
 - 17 *Eum.* 20(1).2; cf. *Sert.* 1.11–12.
 - 18 *Eum.* 21(2).3. Cf. *Eum.* 12.1–4 (with 5.6–8); *Sert.* 22.7–8.
 - 19 *Eum.* 21(2).6–8; see below, p. 61.
 - 20 *Sert.* 22.7–12, esp. 12: ἔδοξεν . . . παρὰ γνώμην ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσθαι. Cf. *Sert.* 9.1–2.
 - 21 *Sert.* 23.5–7. App. *Mithr.* 68.288 reflects a more hostile tradition, that Sertorius was ready to cede Asia. Cf. Gelzer 1963, ii. 139–45; Syme 1964, 204–5.
 - 22 *Eum.* 2.3, 8–10; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7.12.7, 13.1.
 - 23 *Eum.* 3.6–7; cf. Diod. 18.14.4; Berve 1927, ii no. 294.
 - 24 *Eum.* 3.8; cf. 5.7; 12.1. The reasons for the antipathy are nowhere stated, but they must date from the reign of Philip.
 - 25 *Eum.* 5.2–4; 8.8 (see below, pp. 73–4).
 - 26 *Eum.* 13.4, 14.2, 16.1–3.
 - 27 *Eum.* 3.14, 4.3–4. cf. Briant 1982, 15–38.
 - 28 *Sert.* 6.7–9; 22.6; cf. *Eum.* 20(1).5.
 - 29 *Eum.* 5.5. Details of the encounter are provided by a papyrus fragment of Arrian (*PSI* xii. 1284; cf. Bosworth 1978). I am not convinced by Wesley Thompson's attempt (1984) to re-attribute the fragment to the later encounter with Craterus. The mission of Xennias, it seems to me, makes better sense if Eumenes did not have a large pool of Macedonian speakers with him. The main substantive point is the alleged difference between Plutarch's statement that Eumenes attacked Neoptolemus' phalanx when it was disrupted in pursuit and Arrian's that Eumenes sent Xennias to negotiate when he saw the Macedonians in close formation and ready to resist (Thompson 1984, 119–20). But Arrian says nothing about a phalanx as such. Presumably the phalanx mentioned by Plutarch was Neoptolemus' *entire* battle line, of which the Macedonian infantry was one of several components (compare the battle formations of Eumenes and Antigonus in 317: Diod. 19.27.6–8.2, 29.3–4). The Macedonians still kept their integrity as the line as a whole disintegrated into its component parts in the flush of victory (compare the similar phenomenon at Gaugamela: Arr. *Anab.* 3.14.4–5) and preferred to capitulate rather than face Eumenes' threatened campaign of attrition.

- The negotiations recorded in Arrian seem to be those that followed this first encounter with Neoptolemus (Diod. 18.29.5; Plut. *Eum.* 5.5) rather than the sequel to the defeat of Craterus, when there was an interval between battle and parley (Diod. 18.32.2).
- 30 *Eum.* 6.4–5; 7.1–2; cf. Arr. *Succ.* F 1.27 (Roos); Nepos *Eum.* 3.4–6.
- 31 *Eum.* 13.4–7, 14.2.
- 32 *Eum.* 14.11. The parallel account of Diodorus (19.24.4–6) is much more muted in tone.
- 33 *Eum.* 5.6–8; 11.3–6; 12.1–4; cf. 21(2).2–3.
- 34 *Eum.* 16.3–5 (a detail not found elsewhere); contrast *Eum.* 21(2).6 (δουλόμενος γὰρ φυγεῖν συνελήφθη). Justin 14.3.12 mentions a later attempt to flee and escape arrest. That is incompatible with Plutarch's narrative (see below, n.49), but he knew the tradition and may have reserved the detail for the finale of the *synkrisis*.
- 35 *Eum.* 17.8–11. See below, pp. 63–4.
- 36 *Eum.* 19.1. So Nepos, *Eum.* 12.3–4. Both versions confirm that Eumenes declined the invitation to end his life.
- 37 For parallels see Erbse 1956, 417–18. *Crass.* 35(2).3 is explicit that the episode was omitted from the narrative proper (ὅπερ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ διηγήσει παρελήλυθε). See further Pelling 1988, 19–20.
- 38 *Sert.* 6.2–4, 7.1; *Eum.* 8.3–4.
- 39 *Sert.* 9.3–11; *Eum.* 11–12.
- 40 *Sert.* 10.1: ἐντεῦθεν ὅποι χρὴ τραπέσθαι δουλευόμενον ἐκάλουν Λυσιτανοί κτλ.; *Eum.* 13.1: φεύγοντι δ' Εὐμένει γράμματα κομίζεται κτλ. (compare Diod. 18.59.4–6 with moralizing reflections on *peripeteia*).
- 41 *Eum.* 13.4; cf. *Sert.* 11.6 (κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεθείαζε), 20.5 (ὡς δαιμόνιον ἄνδρα καὶ θεοῖς φίλον).
- 42 *Sert.* 22.1–2; *Eum.* 8.11 (see below, pp. 72–3).
- 43 *Eum.* 16.4; *Sert.* 27.4–5 (cf. *Pomp.* 20.7–8; App. *BC* 1.115.536–7).
- 44 *Eum.* 16.7; Diod. 19.41.2 (cf. 30.6).
- 45 Diod. 19.41.1: this version continues the reproach, 'are you sinning against your fathers, *who conquered the whole world with Philip and Alexander*?' Plutarch ends the adjuration more effectively at ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί, and adds a brief introductory note explaining that the Silver Shields were veterans of Philip and Alexander (*Eum.* 16.7). For similar changes of emphasis in his use of Thucydides see de Romilly 1988, esp. 27: 'What I am interested in is the different orientation, the different approach.'
- 46 *Eum.* 16.9–11; cf. Diod. 19.42.1–4. The episode is stressed for its climactic importance, but the picturesque detail of the pall of salt dust may be included as an implicit parallel for Sertorius' use of windswept dust to choke the Characitani out of their lairs (*Sert.* 17.3–12).
- 47 Cf. Diod. 19.42.5–7. His exploits are, however, mentioned in the exchange with Onomarchus (*Eum.* 18.8; Nepos *Eum.* 11.5).
- 48 Cic. *Brut.* 180; cf. Plut. *Sert.* 2.2; Malcovati 1955, pp. 291–2, no. 81. The two pieces of direct speech found in Plutarch (*Sert.* 5.4, 16.9–10) are more in the nature of dramatic dialogue than formal oratory.
- 49 Just. 14.4.1–8. The previous chapter (14.3.5–11) contains an earlier altercation with the Silver Shields, which is implicitly contradicted by

- Plutarch's narrative, according to which the men concealed their intentions until the very end (*Eum.* 17.1–4).
- 50 *Eum.* 17.4; Just. 14.4.1.
- 51 *Eum.* 17.8 (contrast *Sert.* 1.12); Just. 14.4.3 is banal by comparison—*vos me ex victore victum, vos me ex imperatore captivum fecistis*.
- 52 *Eum.* 17.11. Here the absolution forms Eumenes' peroration; in Justin (14.4.7) it comes in the body of the speech.
- 53 *Eum.* 19.3–4. Plutarch generalizes for rhetorical effect. Diod. 19.48.3 mentions that only the most turbulent of the troops were assigned to Arachosia (so Polyae. 4.6.15), but he draws the same moral lesson, that their fate was fair retribution.
- 54 *Artax.* 14.9=FGrH 688 F 26 (cf. F 16[67]).
- 55 *Eum.* 18.2: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δεινὸν εἰ Χερρονησίτης ὄλεθρος οἰμώξεται. *Sert.* 6.6: δεινολογουμένων εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνθύπατος τέλη καταβαλεῖ βαρβάροις ὀλέθρους
- 56 Compare the *synkrisis*, *Eum.* 20(1).5–6.
- 57 Plut. *Eum.* 13.2–7; Nepos *Eum.* 5.7: *simulata deditione dum de condicionibus tractat, praefectis Antigoni imposuit*.
- 58 Diod. 18.50.4–5; 53.5: καὶ λαθὼν διὰ τῶν ὄρκων τὰς πίστεις τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλυσε.
- 59 Diod. 18.53.5–7; 58.3–59.3.
- 60 Anson 1977. The normal approach has been to conflate Diodorus and Plutarch, assuming that Diodorus has abbreviated the negotiations misleadingly. Cf. Schmitt 1969, pp. 31–2, no. 418.
- 61 Diod. 18.58.1 (instructions to the Silver Shields); 59.3 (Antigenes and Teutamus meet Eumenes in Cilicia ἐκ πολλοῦ διασπόμενος).
- 62 Droysen 1877, 1.144, 256; cf. Beloch 1925, 91, 102–3; Heckel 1982, esp. 62. The truth was briefly noted by Fontana 1959, p. 218 n. 2: 'la frase sopra citata induce a pensare che Antigene e i suoi giungessero ora dalla Susiana di cui appunto Antigene era stato nominato satrapo a Triparadiso'.
- 63 Arrian (*Succ.* F 1.38 Roos) states that Antigenes was also commissioned to convey the treasures of Susa to the sea and that he was given the 3,000 most mutinous troops at Triparadeisus. The two halves of the sentence are invariably combined, and it *may* be that the troops were intended as a guard for the bullion. But there is no explicit connection in Photius' summary of Arrian, and it could be argued that the dynasts at Triparadeisus never intended the Silver Shields to leave Mesopotamia (see below). Even if Antigenes' men were intended for convoy work, there is no suggestion that Cilicia was their destination: κατακομιδή means simply transport to the sea (*Arr. Anab.* 6.23.4).
- 64 Diod. 18.62.7. Cf. Goukowsky 1978, p. 309 n. 106.
- 65 *Arr. Succ.* F 1.35 (Roos): Ἀντιγένει . . . τῶν δὲ ἀργυρασπίδων Μακεδόνων ἡγουμένῳ τῆς Σουσιανῆς συμπάσης ἄρχειν. Cf. Diod. 18.39.6.
- 66 There is no record of any separate satrap of Susiana in Diodorus' reasonably full account of the campaign. Heckel 1982, 62–3 rather curiously alleges that Antigenes was awarded the satrapy in 321 but never governed it. That leads to the frank admission, 'Nor do we know who did.'

- 67 Arr. *Anab.* 3.19.2 (Oxathres appointed satrap); cf. 7.4.1; Plut. *Alex.* 68.7 (his execution in 324). Nothing is known of the government of the territory after 324.
- 68 Diod. 18.57.3, cf. 58.2.
- 69 Cf. Anson 1977, 254–5, arguing (inconclusively) for Duris as the source of the tradition. In Diodorus Eumenes' protestations of loyalty to the Argeads begin *after* the offer of the generalship in Asia (cf. 18.58.4).
- 70 *Eum.* 10.4; cf. 18.8–9.
- 71 That was the proposal delivered to Nora by Hieronymus himself (Diod. 18.50.4=*FGrH* 154 T 4). *Pace* Hornblower 1981, 11. Diodorus (18.53.5) clearly states that Antigonos' overtures resulted in a formal agreement and the raising of the siege.
- 72 *Eum.* 13.9–11, 14.1–2, 16.1–5.
- 73 Diod. 19.15 (cf. 14.5), 42.4, 43.3.
- 74 *Eum.* 15.8 (παντάπασιν ἔκφρων ὑπὸ δέους); cf. Diod. 19.38.1.
- 75 *Eum.* 16.9 (παντάπασιν ἐκλελυμένως καὶ ἀγέννως ἀγωνισαμένον); cf. Diod. 19.42.4.
- 76 Diod. 19.14 (a critically important chapter) gives the background. Peithon attempted to expand his satrapy into an empire, deposing and killing the governor of neighbouring Parthyaia. In the face of this threat the satraps of the Iranian plateau had formed a defensive alliance under the leadership of Peucestas (cf. Schober 1981, 75–9). Peithon made an ally of Seleucus in Babylon (Diod. 19.12.1:14.3), and in 317 it was only after they rejected Eumenes' overtures that Eumenes turned to Peucestas and the eastern alliance (Diod. 19.12.3). That necessarily drove Peithon and Seleucus into the arms of Antigonos (Diod. 19.13.5). If they had chosen Eumenes, the upper satraps would have found the royal army and its general marshalled against them. It is hardly surprising that he needed to win the confidence of his new allies.
- 77 Diod. 19.15.1–4, esp. 4: συνήγε καθ' ἡμέραν συνέδριον οἶδν τινος δημοκρατουμένης πόλεως; cf. 18.60.2; Polyæn. 4.8.2 fin.
- 78 Diod. 19.24.2–3; the episode is placed after two blatant attempts to intimidate his rivals and is merely the offer of a carrot after the use of the stick.
- 79 Diod. 19.23.1–4; Polyæn. 4.8.3. This evidence has recently been used by Errington 1977, esp. 483. In his view it proves that Eumenes and his colleagues already knew of the death of Philip Arrhidaeus (c. October 317). In my opinion it proves the opposite. The letter plays on Polyperchon's original invitation (in 318) to Olympias, which was to assume the guardianship of the young Alexander and return to Macedonia (Diod. 18.57.2, 65.1). Eumenes gave out that Olympias had fulfilled that invitation and that Cassander was dead (probably in his *first* invasion of Macedonia: Polyperchon is still credited with the elephants he lost on that occasion [Diod. 19.36.7]). On the other hand, the division in the Macedonian royal house, which preceded Philip's death, would have fatally weakened the position of Eumenes as the representative of the Kings. The forgery is best associated with the

- situation in summer 317, before the attempted coup by Eurydice and the internecine conflict within the Argead house.
- 80 Diod. 19.23.5.
- 81 *Eum.* 19.3; cf. Diod. 19.48.3–4; Polyae. 4.6.15.
- 82 Diod. 19.44.1; Cf. Heckel 1982, 64–5, though I doubt the picture he draws of consistent loyalty to Eumenes.
- 83 *Eum.* 17.1 (οἱ περὶ Τεῦταμον).
- 84 Arr. *Succ.* F 1.39–45 = *FGrH* 156 F 11.
- 85 Noret 1983; Schröder 1988.
- 86 Arr. *Succ.* F 1.40; cf. Plut. *Eum.* 8.6–7.
- 87 Just. 14.1.6–7, where *Aeoliam* is a certain emendation of the MS *Aetoliam*.
- 88 Just. 14.1.8: *ut eius voce centuriones principesque confirmaret, existimatuos ibi maiestatem regiam verti unde soror Alexandri staret.*
- 89 Just. 14.1.9–13. Here there is a refinement that Eumenes claimed that he had forged the letters to test the loyalty of his troops. That is not reproduced in Plutarch, who tends to minimize the Machiavellian side of Eumenes (see above, pp. 68–70).
- 90 *Eum.* 8.12: ἐξῆν γὰρ Εὐμένει καὶ καυσίας ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χλαμύδας διανέμειν.
- 91 For the close relationship between Eumenes and Cleopatra, most dramatically shown in her warning of an ambush laid by the Perdiccan faction early in 321, see Arr. *Succ.* F 25.6 with F 1.26. Plutarch merely refers in passing to the dealings between the two and fails to set them in context. Indeed, his anecdotal distribution of the historical material makes it very difficult to interpret what was happening.
- 92 Arr. *Succ.* F 1.41 = Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 92:72^b4–6.
- 93 See particularly Schröder 1988, refining and correcting the earlier interpretation of Briant 1982, 56–62.
- 94 The details of the transaction defy restoration (for an attempt at interpretation see Schröder 1988, 87–90).
- 95 ἔτι ἐπέχοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος (fo.73^v 12); cf. Plut. *Eum.* 8.7 (διεχέιμαζεν ἐν Κελαιναῖς).
- 96 Plutarch does not mention Attalus, but it is otherwise attested that he had joined the Perdiccan resistance by this time (Diod. 18.41.7; see below, p. 77).
- 97 Noret 1983, 237 = fo.72^v 16–73^r 5: ὥς εἰ ξυμπνέοντάς τε σφᾶς οἱ πολέμοι μάθοιεν . . . τούσδε ὑπὲρ διαλύσεων παραντίκα διαπρεσβευσάμενους σφίσιν τε τὰ ἤδη κατεχόμενα ἐπιτρέψειν καὶ αὐτοὺς τῇ πρώτῃ νεμήσει ἀρκεσθέντας πολλῶν κακῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν γῆν ἀπαλλάξειν.
- 98 The Göteborg palimpsest mentions only Antipater as worsted in the winter skirmishes (Noret 1983, 237; fo.73^r 12). Photius also confirms that Antipater was Eumenes' principal adversary (Arr. *Succ.* F 1.41); the new fragments put paid to the once-fashionable notion that Antipater was simply Photius' mistake for Antigonus.
- 99 Arr. *Succ.* F 1.44–5 (Antipater); Diod. 18.40.1 (Eumenes and Antigonus).
- 100 The date is uncertain. Nepos (*Eum.* 5.6–7) suggests that the siege of Nora lasted several months (*complures menses*), continued over a winter and was terminated by negotiation around the advent of spring.

- This is our most detailed source, far preferable to Diod. 18.53.5, who simply writes of a 'year-long' siege (no doubt giving a rounded-up general figure). I do not believe that the siege can have begun in *spring* 319 (so Anson 1977, 255); the strategic duel between Eumenes and Antigonos was a protracted affair and must have taken several months.
- 101 For detailed bibliography see Seibert 1983, 79–80. The major turning-point came with the article by Errington 1970, esp. 75–7, which built on the work of E.Manni and based the chronology on a combination of the Babylonian Chronicle of the Successors and the Parian Marble. His conclusion, that Perdikkas died in 320, has become the received opinion (cf. Schober 1981, 46–67; Anson 1986; Badian 1988, describing Errington's exposition as 'full and conclusive' [n.7]). The main defences of the earlier orthodoxy are Briant 1973, 217–28; Hauben 1977.
- 102 Antipater's death is closely correlated with that of the Athenian Demades (Diod. 18.48.4; cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 30.9–10); and Demades appears to have met his end in the summer of 319 (cf. Gehrke 1976, 105–7). There is no possibility of dating Antipater's death any later than 319. The Athenian citizenship decrees of 319/318 seem to echo the political turbulence generated by his demise and the subsequent edict of Polyperchon. It is certain that the Athenians had come under the control of the new regent, Polyperchon, before the end of the archon year 319/318 (*IG* ii² 387+Add. p. 660; Osborne, 1981, 96, D35), and Antipater must have passed away several months before (see the contrasting discussions of Errington 1977, 489–91 and Osborne 1982, 96–8, 100–2). A terminus, of a sort, is provided by Diod. 18.50.1: Antigonos learned of the old regent's death some time after Nora was under siege, when he had defeated the Perdikkas resistance in Pisidia. That news can hardly have reached him before autumn 319; how long it took in transit is a moot point.
- 103 'the month Iyyar (Aiaru) the king did battle with the satrap of Egypt ...king's troops put king's troops to the sword.' This is the most recent translation (by Grayson 1975, 115), and the latter phrase, referring to discord in the royal army, could be associated with the uprising against Perdikkas or the later mutiny at Triparadeisus (cf. Schober 1981, 49). Earlier interpretations had been more explicit: 'troops of the king slew the guardian of the king with the sword.'
- 104 On these see (e.g.) Momigliano 1975, 863–4; Schober 1981, 49–51.
- 105 Diod. 18.33.2 (campaign around Pelusium); 33.6–34.5 (attack on **Καμήλων τεῖχος**); 34.6–36.1 (campaign near Memphis: cf. Polyae. 4.19; Strabo 17.1.8 [794]).
- 106 In that case Perdikkas' regency extended into the third year after the death of Alexander. That helps explain Diod. 18.36.7, which states that he ruled for three years. Compare Diod. 16.7.3, where the Social War is said to have lasted three years, and 16.22.2, where (retrospectively) it is said to have lasted four (in actual fact it seems to have covered only *two* archon years: cf. Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 12).
- 107 Diod. 18.30.3; Arr. *Succ.* F 1.27.

- 108 Diod. 18.39.1–3; Arr. *Succ.* F 1.30–1.
 109 Diod. 18.37.2; cf. Berve 1927, ii no.181.
 110 Diod. 18.37.3–4; Arr. *Succ.* F 1.33, 39. Cf. Errington 1970, p. 67 n. 131.
 111 Arr. *Succ.* F 1.39; cf. Diod. 18.41.7. For his presence with Alcetas see also the Göteborg palimpsest (Noret 1983, 237; fo.72^r 13).
 112 Arr. *Succ.* F 24.3 (τῶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἑαυτῷ πιστῶν δοκούντων); cf. Berve 1927, ii no. 285. See also Simpson 1957, 504–5.
 113 Arr. *Succ.* F 24.5: τῷ ᾿Αρχωνι οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ξυνέβη τελευτῆσαι ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων, τῆνικαὶ οὐ χαλεπῶς Δόκιμος ἐδέχθη τε ἐπὶ τὴν ξατράπειαν κτλ. Cf. Schober 1981, 38–40.
 114 ‘On the ten([+N])th day [i.e., on the tenth or some subsequent day] of Marcheswan (Arasamnu)...the satrap of Akkad entered Babylon’ (cf. Schober 1981, 49, 68).
 115 Plut. *Eum.* 8.3; Noret 1983, 237; fo. 72^v 1.
 116 Diod. 19.91.2. I would, however, be reluctant to lay much emphasis on any unsupported statement of duration in Diodorus (see above, n. 106).
 117 *Eum.* 9.6–12; cf. Polyaen. 4.8.5.
 118 Cf. *Sert.* 16.3–4; *Eum.* 16.9–11, 17.1–3, 18.2.
 119 Diod. 18.40.5–8. Plutarch concentrates on an earlier, less decisive, encounter at Orcynia in Cappadocia, when Eumenes was embarrassed by the desertion of one of his lieutenants but punished the traitor and was able to regain the battlefield and give his dead honourable burial (*Eum.* 9.3–5). This manoeuvre is briefly reported by Diod. 18.40.2–4, as a prelude to the decisive battle, and should not be identified with it, as is often attempted (cf. Engel 1971). Plutarch excerpted details from the lesser engagement at Orcynia, where Eumenes was able to turn an initial defeat to his advantage, and omitted the second sweeping defeat in which he lost both baggage and army. On that occasion defeat did *not* bring out his strategic genius.
 120 *Eum.* 10.1. This version is unique. Even Nepos (*Eum.* 5.3) concedes that Eumenes suffered heavy losses and was forced to take refuge at Nora.
 121 Diod. 18.40.8–41.1 (καταταχόμενος δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν ἀποχωροῦντας πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αντίγονον); cf. Justin 14.2.2.

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PLUTARCH, PYRRHUS, AND ALEXANDER

J.M.Mossman

'If you mark Alexander's life well', says Fluellen to Gower (*Henry V*, iv. 7) 'Harry of Monmouth's life is come after it indifferent well. For there is figures in all things.' The purpose of this chapter is to show that Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* 'comes after' his *Life of Alexander* 'indifferent well', and that this is important for the proper understanding of Plutarch's attitude to Pyrrhus and perhaps intentional.¹ More specifically, I would like to show that the *Pyrrhus* echoes a technique prominent in the *Alexander* which I have discussed elsewhere;² namely the association of epic, and especially Achillean, characteristics with the positive side of the subject's character, and tragic patterning and references with his negative aspect. It is by juxtaposing 'tragic' passages and the more conventional 'epic' ones chronicling Alexander's deeds that Plutarch achieves the rounded and complex portrait of Alexander which makes that *Life* so memorable. This chiaroscuro effect is used to explore the tensions and ambiguities in Alexander's character and to examine some of the pitfalls that for Plutarch, always accompany greatness.

On that previous occasion I commented that there is a problem about distinguishing between 'epic' and 'tragic' modes of thought because the two genres have so much in common, and I began to suggest some ways in which Plutarch makes interesting use of both genres and indeed of the grey areas between them; Plutarch can actually exploit the tragic depths of epic situations. This question of the relationship of epic and tragedy is a symptom of a larger problem: are narrative features that we think of as tragic because the best known texts in which they have come down to us are tragedies, really to be associated with the stage? In other words, when Herodotus tells the story of Adrastus and Atys (I.34ff.), he is certainly

telling a story which has a good deal in common with the plays of Sophocles, but would it be right to say that he was influenced by the stage in any way? In that case we would be more likely to say that this kind of story-pattern (into which the story of Oedipus fits) was one embedded deeply in the Greek mind, and which could be used in their different ways either by Herodotus in prose or by Sophocles in a tragedy. But by Plutarch's time it is less easy to decide. Plutarch is steeped in Attic tragedy, and when he refers to a myth that has been treated by one of the great dramatists it is difficult to dissociate it from that treatment, especially as he so frequently confirms the link with a quotation.

The purpose of reading the *Pyrrhus* with an eye to this technique is not only to gain a better understanding of that *Life* but also to show that Plutarch was able to play very subtly with such methods and adapt them not only to the study of a giant like Alexander, but also to more doubtful heroes. In this *Life*, too, there will be opportunities to observe Plutarch playing with the area where tragedy and epic merge. This seems to me to be a consequence of Pyrrhus' status as an Alexander manqué.

It will become clear, for example, that in the *Pyrrhus*, Achilles and Alexander merge into one another as the paradigm of what a leader and hero should be; clearly this is an important difference from the *Alexander*, where Achilles is the sole template against which Alexander measures himself. The implications of the blurring of the historical figure with the mythical one as a paradigm of behaviour are complex: on the one hand, Pyrrhus, like countless other generals of his own time and later, himself encouraged the comparison with Alexander for very practical political reasons, and it is an obvious one for any writer on any of the Diadochoi to make.³ On the other hand, it is interesting that where Achilles is the only figure who serves as a model for Alexander—for only he is worthy to be copied by him—Pyrrhus must also compare himself with a man only newly dead. It is hard not to see Alexander as glorified by comparisons with Achilles, even when his behaviour falls short of that Homeric standard; there are so many occasions when he does achieve Homeric, Achillean stature. Conversely, it is hard not to see Pyrrhus as somehow lessened by comparisons with the dead Alexander when those comparisons are unfavourable or when apparently complimentary words are subsequently undermined by the narrative. This is at least partly because Alexander was

not a mythical hero but a man of Pyrrhus' own time who was far greater than he is. But there are also passages where Pyrrhus can be compared directly to Achilles; he is a man, we feel, who comes very close to glory in the moments of crisis to which these comparisons always refer.

Both the Homeric Achilles and the Alexander of Plutarch's *Life* are heroes whose heroism has its darker side, and Pyrrhus too, like most of Plutarch's subjects, will be composed of light and shade. The chiaroscuro technique of tragedy and epic which makes Alexander such an interesting and subtle character is not the only ingredient of characterization in the *Pyrrhus* any more than it is in the *Alexander*: other strands, like the theme of Pyrrhus and his relations with Rome, for which this method of narrative shaping would not be suitable, are important to Plutarch and must be accommodated, and this precludes any relentless use of it.⁴ The *Alexander*, I think, employs the play with tragic and epic more regularly than the *Pyrrhus* does. It seems to me to be an important feature of that *Life*, and one that might have been more obvious to an ancient readership. This being so, I would like tentatively to suggest that Plutarch intends the rather distinctive opposition between epic and tragedy in the *Pyrrhus* to recall the *Alexander*, thus echoing the link between the content of the two *Lives* with one of form. It is interesting that the *Demetrius* also has an extensive network of tragic imagery; I shall return to this later.

I do not think that it is necessary for my argument to claim that readers of the *Pyrrhus* would have to know the precise text of Plutarch's *Alexander*, as opposed to the common fund of detail about the career of Alexander, in order to feel these links; as I said, it is natural to see Pyrrhus in terms of Alexander, and he would undoubtedly have encouraged such comparisons himself. Similarly, there is good evidence that Alexander in his turn encouraged comparisons between himself and Achilles.⁵ It is natural to see great men in heroic terms, and epic and tragedy provide a ready-made vocabulary with which to do so. I would hold, though, that there is a good case for saying that Plutarch wrote the *Pyrrhus* in such a way that the admirers of his Alexander could read it with greater insight. Such a statement is impossible to prove, but I hope that the account of the *Pyrrhus* that follows will show that a convincing case can be made for it. That the *Pyrrhus* was written some time after the *Alexander* is probably confirmed by a reference in the *Marius* (6.4) to the *Caesar*,⁶ but even if there were no such

evidence, or if the *Pyrrhus* could be shown to antedate the *Alexander*, there would still be an important point to be made: it would still be the case that Plutarch, confronted with these two characters, interpreted them both in a way calculated to stress the influence of Alexander on Pyrrhus and the many points of similarity between them.

The opening of the *Pyrrhus* sets up the heroic strand in the *Life*. Plutarch examines the prehistory of Epirus *μετὰ τὸν κατακλισμόν*, stressing the version of the legend of the country in which Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, ruled the land. It is interesting that he names Lanassa, granddaughter of Hyllus son of Heracles, as Neoptolemus' wife and mother of his descendants rather than following the version found in Euripides' *Andromache*, where Andromache's son is Neoptolemus' heir (1243ff.). One suspects that the purpose of this is not only to stress Pyrrhus' Greekness but also to provide him with the same mythical ancestry as Alexander, also descended from both Achilles and Heracles (*Alex.* 2.1). An implicit comparison with the historical personage as well as the mythical is being set up. Both *Lives* are discreet in their use of these mythical ancestors; they are mentioned and then the later events are allowed to define the subjects' relation to them. There are no heavy-handed comparisons at this stage.

The exciting episode of the baby Pyrrhus being rescued from the flood and his villainous pursuers follows in chapter 2. This will be very important for the shape of the *Life*. It is told with great vividness and suspense, and engages our sympathy for the helpless child and his faithful followers.⁷ It is significant that Plutarch decides to recall that the name of the first rescuer to reach the baby was Achilles: that reminds us indirectly of the Homeric Achilles and his great fight with the river Scamander in *Iliad* 21. The baby Pyrrhus has fought with a river too, as had Alexander at the Granicus (*Alex.* 16).⁸ The mythical atmosphere continues with the supplication of Glaucias, the alternative version where Pyrrhus clutches an altar of the gods reinforcing the impression that this child is marked out for distinction and perhaps recalling the miracles of the *Wunderkind* Heracles. On the whole this is reinforced by the subsequent account of Pyrrhus' miraculous properties, and the account of his alarming appearance will not portend excessive harshness, in contrast to his rival, Neoptolemus (5.2).

Pyrrhus' valour emerges early in the *Life* and will be a keynote: although still a **μειράκιον**, Pyrrhus **διεφάνη λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς μαχομένοις** (4.4) at Ipsus, and he remains loyal to Demetrius even after his defeat: when Pyrrhus is perfidious it is not from cowardly motives but to further his all-consuming ambition. This is exemplified by the episode of the preemptive murder of Neoptolemus in chapter 5. It is instructive to compare this section with three passages from the *Alexander* which show Alexander's reaction to alleged or actual plots against him: they are the story of Alexander's physician, Philip the Acarnanian, and the cup of medicine (*Alex.* 19), the narrative of the deaths of Philotas and Parmenio (*Alex.* 48ff.) and the narrative of the Pages' Conspiracy (*Alex.* 55).

In all three cases Alexander's response to a real or imagined threat is significant for Plutarch's view of the development of his character: in 19 he demonstrates his courage and his trust in Philip of Acarnania by tossing off the medicine without a second thought. Philotas and Parmenio are the victims partly of their own folly and partly of calumnious rumours that are brought to Alexander, who keeps a secret watch on Philotas by means of his mistress, Antigone, but restrains himself from action, **εἴτε θαρρῶν τῇ Παρμενίωνος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴτε δεδιῶς τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν** (*Alex.* 49.2). The following narrative, while it perhaps suggests that Philotas was in fact innocent of any conspiracy against Alexander, gives the king ample reason to suspect him, and only the subsequent murder of Parmenio really redounds to Alexander's discredit. In chapter 55 Hermolaus and his companions and Callisthenes are punished as soon as their intentions come to light. These two last episodes are, it is true, part of a series that shows Alexander's corruption by kingship, but his actions are almost always direct and open, and his spying on Philotas is in part justified by the restraint that he exercises at that stage, until he is panicked by the actual conspiracy of Limnus.

Pyrrhus, on the other hand, uses Neoptolemus' conspiracy against him wholly as an excuse to further his own ambition by killing Neoptolemus. He does so **ἐν δὲ θυσίᾳ**, which perhaps has a tragic ring about it: one thinks of Aegisthus' death in Euripides' *Electra* and perhaps also of the death of Cleitus in the *Alexander* (*Alex.* 50.2).⁹ Where Alexander is a king responding to the conspiracies of lesser men, Pyrrhus is one player among many in a game of intrigue. This aspect of Pyrrhus' character is often emphasized in the *Life* and it is his least attractive trait. It is

sometimes expressed with the help of tragic imagery, but more often, as here and in the account which follows of Pyrrhus' intervention on behalf of Cassander's son Alexander, it is told fairly baldly, which perhaps emphasizes its sordid nature: there is nothing poetic about this sort of *pleonexia*.

These two sordid episodes are sandwiched between the account of Pyrrhus' gallantry at Ipsus and the splendid single combat between Pyrrhus and Pantauchus in chapter 7, which has many of the regular features of a Homeric duel.¹⁰ It is fought against the background of a fierce battle, and both combatants are champions on their own side. One (who subsequently turns out to be the weaker) challenges the other, and there is a complex exchange of blows with weapons of more than one kind. One hero is wounded, but is rescued by his friends; the army of the victor is elated by his victory and spurred to greater efforts. Even if it were not for the statement that Pyrrhus closed with Pantauchus οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων ὑφιέμενος ἀλκῆς καὶ τόλμης, καὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως δόξαν αὐτῷ δι' ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γένος συνοικειοῦν βουλόμενος, we would recognize the Iliadic pattern.¹¹ This is Pyrrhus at his best, in an uncomplicated display of courage. He seeks to prove himself a worthy descendant of Achilles; as he makes his attempt, the Iliadic form of the narrative asserts that he is succeeding; and at the same time the fact that he makes the attempt reminds us that Alexander was keen to do exactly the same—Diodorus indeed uses a very similar form of words in complimenting Alexander at 17.1.4: Ἀλέξανδρος οὖν γεγονὼς κατὰ πατέρα μὲν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὲ μητέρα τῶν Αἰακιδῶν οἰκείαν ἔσχε τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς τῶν προγόνων εὐδοξίας. This implicit comparison with Alexander is one which does not diminish Pyrrhus, but rather exalts him further, for here he is seen to have achieved an aim which Alexander shared. This link with Alexander is made explicit and stressed further by the opinion of the Macedonians, reported in the following chapter (8.2): (they admired his bravery)

καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ὄνοντο καὶ τάχος εἰκέναι καὶ κίνημα τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνου καὶ θίας παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τοιῷ σκιάς τινας ὀρεῖσθαι καὶ μιμήματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἐν πορφύραις καὶ δορυφόροις καὶ κλίσει τραχήλου καὶ τῷ μείζον διαλέγεσθαι, μόνου δὲ Πύρρου τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

This passage should be compared with a very similar one in the

Demetrius (*Demetr.* 41.5ff.), where the soldiers' disapproval is directed more specifically at Demetrius himself, the most theatrical of the kings.¹² The *Demetrius* passage is rich in tragic imagery; here nothing distracts us from Pyrrhus' likeness to Alexander. Plutarch goes on to discuss his excellence as a general and the importance he attached to it; unlike Alexander, he is no patron of the arts, as his curt refusal to discuss flute-playing shows; but he is like Alexander in being generous to his friends and forbearing with regard to insults to himself. But a darker note is added by his habit of contracting dynastic marriages—not a practice likely to appeal to Plutarch, and very unlike Alexander's *sophrosyne*—and the way in which he encourages his resulting progeny to fight each other for his kingdom provokes Plutarch's disapproval. It is important to notice that this more negative note is sounded by means of a reference to tragedy. Pyrrhus' young son asks him to whom he will leave his kingdom; Pyrrhus replies 'To the one amongst you who keeps his sword the sharpest'; and Plutarch comments acidly (9.6) τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποδοεῖ τῆς τραγικῆς ἀράς ἐκείνης: 'Θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν' τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς. οὕτως ἄμικτός ἐστι καὶ θηριώδης ἡ τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑπόθεσις. The reference is to the *Phoenissae* of Euripides (66–8), where Jocasta tells of Oedipus' curse on his two sons; and it is worth quoting in full:

πρὸς δὲ τῆς τύχης νοσῶν
ἀράς ἀράται παισὶν ἀνοσιωτάτας,
θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν τόδε.

Pyrrhus' words are likened to those of the bitter and vindictive old Oedipus. It is interesting that Plutarch quotes from the *Phoenissae* rather than from the *Oedipus at Colonus*, where Oedipus, because of his enforced exile, has rather better grounds for cursing his sons. Pyrrhus does not have the excuse of extreme suffering to palliate the shocking harshness that Plutarch deplors; he imposes his ambition and rapacity upon his sons not as a curse but almost as a duty; he is on even more dubious moral ground than Euripides' Oedipus. Plutarch anticipates the tragic metaphor in his own words: the sons were brought up for war, he says, εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο θηγομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

After this glimpse of the negative aspect of Pyrrhus' warlike nature, we return to the happier view, with his modest acceptance of the title of 'Eagle' from the Epirots and his near-conquest of Macedon.

This sequence culminates in Pyrrhus' dream of Alexander, where the king appears to him lying on a couch and lends the blessing of his name to Pyrrhus' march on Beroia, which results in his gaining the kingdom of Macedon without having to give battle. This would seem to be a straightforward example of Pyrrhus' being praised indirectly by means of the supposed patronage and approval of Alexander, and to an extent I think this is true. However, the *Life* then enters a phase of describing and deploring the intrigues and politicking that result from this gloriously peaceful conquest, the success of which is substantially negated because Pyrrhus' lack of trust in the Macedonians leads him to grant a foolish concession to Lysimachus (12.1).¹³ Plutarch's diatribe against *pleonexia* is very interesting: it seems to be couched in terms that apply rather more accurately to Alexander than to Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, who are merely quarrelling over Macedonia. Plutarch says (12.3):

οἷς γὰρ οὐ πέλαγος, οὐκ ὄρος, οὐκ ἀοίκητος ἐρημία πέρας ἐστὶ
 πλεονεξίας, οὐδ' οἱ διαιροῦντες Εὐρώπην καὶ Ἀσίαν τέρμονες
 ὀρίζουσι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, πῶς ἂν ἀπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ἀλλήλων
 ἀτρεμοῖεν, ἐν τοῖς παρούσι μὴ ἀδικοῦντες, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν.

Clearly the latter part of that extract is appropriate to Pyrrhus and Lysimachus; but the earlier part seems almost to be more a description of Alexander. Is Plutarch reminding us that all this intrigue and ambition is as much a part of Alexander's legacy as the ability to conquer kingdoms by the magic of his name?

The passage continues with a denunciation of the machinations of those who use peace only to prepare for war, which is illustrated by Lysimachus' subversion of the Macedonians while Pyrrhus is working to undermine Demetrius still further. Kings are the teachers of the people in infidelity and treachery (*ἀπιστίας καὶ προδοσίας διδασκάλους*) and need expect nothing else from them.¹⁴

The next chapter introduces the Roman expedition, in which the key themes we have already observed—military glory and its obverse, *pleonexia*, intrigue and deceit, the contradictory faces of Pyrrhus' courage and duplicity and his boundless ambition—are explored further in the context of the virtue of early Rome. The section is introduced by Plutarch's insisting that Pyrrhus should never have gone to Rome at all; he stresses that Pyrrhus could have remained happily at home in Epirus. But Plutarch has already noted that Pyrrhus hated inactivity (12.8), and now he expresses that in Achillean terms, quoting *Il.* 1. 491–2:¹⁵

ὁ δὲ τὸ μὴ παρέχειν ἑτέροις κακὰ μηδ' ἔχειν ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἄλυν τινὰ
 ναυτιώδη νομίζων, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν σχολήν,
 ἀλλὰ φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ
 αὐθι μένων, ποθέεσκε δ' αὐτὴν τε πτόλεμόν τε.

This looks like an example of a Homeric comparison introducing an uncomplimentary trait, but I think in fact it is a little more subtle than that. Although Pyrrhus' motivation for the expedition is criticized at length, both in this passage and in the ensuing (rather Herodotean) dialogue with Cineas, in fact it will provide him with an opportunity to display some of his most creditable features. The comparison with Achilles here seems to mitigate the folly of the undertaking and lend it glamour. We should also bear in mind, though, that the Homeric Achilles is himself not a straightforwardly admirable character. Plutarch is emulating and building on Homer in recognizing that epic heroes have tragic potentialities.¹⁶ This is, in fact, the first of a series of passages where we are made to feel that a comparison with Achilles is not purely laudatory. This degree of subtlety is not missing from the *Alexander*: Alexander's mourning for Hephaestion is very Achillean, but Plutarch clearly disapproves of its excesses.¹⁷

The dialogue with Cineas (14) elaborates and forms the culmination of many of the themes of this section: above all, it illustrates the rampant ambition of Pyrrhus, which begins to rival that of Alexander in scale. Pyrrhus describes a series of conquests which would create a western empire comparable with the eastern gains of Alexander.¹⁸ It is interesting, though, that the comparison is not made, as if the imaginary (and, it turns out, elusive) gains of Pyrrhus are not worthy to be compared to the real gains of Alexander. It also dramatizes the comment on the futility of the expedition that Plutarch made at 13.2, and deepens our insight into Pyrrhus' motivation: he wants to enjoy the quiet life when everything is subject to him, but cannot do so before. His state of mind is described (14.14) in almost tragic terms as νοήσαντα μὲν ὅσην ἀπέλειπεν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὦν δ' ὠρέγετο τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενον. Knowledge or presentiment of disaster to come which fails to turn the one who possesses it from action that will precipitate that disaster is one of the mainsprings of the tragic plot. A further tragic element is present in this passage because Cineas' eloquence, which is stressed at the start of chapter 14 and described by another quotation from *Phoenissae* (517), fails to persuade Pyrrhus to abandon his plans.

Now the *Phoenissae* is a play particularly devoted to extolling the power of *logos*, and at the same time showing its capability for evil and, in the end, when Jocasta fails to persuade her sons to refrain from battle, its ultimate futility.¹⁹ Cineas has little chance of success with Pyrrhus when his rhetoric is praised in such terms; nor indeed will he succeed in persuading the Romans not to prosecute the war in the chapters that follow.

The beginning of the expedition is marred by the tremendous storm, the second of three occasions when Pyrrhus battles against a raging flood. As a baby he was rescued by others; and so it is here, but his courage against the elements is as conspicuous as his courage in battle. It is not instantly clear why Pyrrhus throws himself into the sea (is it possible that Plutarch may be glossing over a suicide attempt here?), but he is quite dauntless even in the face of the tempest: he is cast on the shore (15.8) τῷ μὲν σώματι παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντα, τόλμη δὲ καὶ ῥώμη τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνταίρωντα πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν. As the fording of the river marked the beginning of Pyrrhus' life, so the struggle against the storm marks the beginning of this most important phase of the biography: his encounters with Rome.²⁰

The first battle against the Romans is one of Pyrrhus' finest moments. His respect for his noble enemy (16.7) and his courage both show him at his best. It is worth comparing this passage to the account of Alexander's conduct at the Malli township, when he leaps down from the wall to attack the enemy, which is the most graphic account of his valour in the *Life (Alex.)* 63). There Plutarch concentrates on the detail of the light which flashed from Alexander's armour, and I have argued elsewhere that that is to stress his likeness to Achilles.²¹ Here we have more conventional praise for Pyrrhus (16.11): ἐνέβαλε πρῶτος, αὐτόθεν τε περίοπτος ὦν ὅπλων κάλλει καὶ λαμπρότητι κεκοσμημένων περιττῶς, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔργοις οὐκ ἀποδέουσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς. This is followed by the account of his duel with a Roman cavalryman. He speaks boldly to Leonnatus about the inevitability of fate and fights very bravely (and successfully) with the Roman; but we are told that the incident led him to be more cautious afterwards. This is quite unlike Alexander, who takes risk after risk regardless; it is perhaps related to the intellectual approach to warfare that Pyrrhus seems to take at 16.11, where he is praised for being able to maintain an overall view of the way the battle is going while being in the thick of the fighting; but his caution here seems rather unworthy. It leads him to

remove his distinguishing armour and almost results in disaster when the man who is wearing it is killed. He now charges *with* his men rather than in front of them (17.1: τοῖς δ' ἐκείνου τρόπον τινὰ κατακρύψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπήγε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις). This is the exact opposite of his earlier pre-eminence, and the opposite of Alexander's conduct.

Once before, at 11.11, Pyrrhus removed his helmet, but he dons it again almost immediately as he marches triumphantly into Macedon, and Demetrius is forced to flee in inconspicuous clothing. There the contrast between anonymity and renown is expressed in terms of dress and has an almost ethical connotation: Pyrrhus' goat-horned helmet becomes a symbol of the kingship he has won through merit and Demetrius' humbler garments express the comparative obscurity he deserves. A similar point is made through Demetrius' own contrasting garments in the *Demetrius* (see n. 12): compare also Pyrrhus' strictures against Antigonus at 26.15. So here, when Pyrrhus disguises himself, there is a suggestion that he is obscuring his own merit as well as his person. Alexander would not have resorted to this. Changing armour with a friend might well make us think of Achilles and Patroclus, and perhaps of Hector donning Achilles' armour after Patroclus' death; but the implied comparison emphasizes how far short Pyrrhus falls of his ancestor. When Achilles allowed Patroclus to wear his armour, it was for very different reasons and not when he was himself fighting. Patroclus' motives for the change are of the purest. Hector finds himself in the borrowed armour as a result of a feat of arms; he cannot in fact prevail against the valour of its true owner, and as he puts it on we are made to feel that nothing but catastrophe can result, but he is overconfident, not overcautious, as Pyrrhus is.²² Complete disaster is averted from Pyrrhus as it is not from Achilles, Patroclus, or Hector, but Plutarch notes that Pyrrhus loses his best troops (17.8): καὶ τῶν φίλων ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἷς μάλιστα χρώμενος διετέλει καὶ πιστεύων, ἀπέβαλεν. The gap between Pyrrhus' conduct here and that of his models in similar situations is shaming, and the cost of his victory is heavy. The gap between Pyrrhus and Alexander is also asserted by Appian in his great speech in chapter 19, whose rhetoric expresses Pyrrhus' dependence on Alexander in the most humiliating manner, calling him a servant of Alexander's bodyguards (19.3), rather than recognizing any spiritual relationship between them.

In the succeeding chapters Pyrrhus comes off rather better, but

only in so far as he reflects and admires true greatness of spirit as evinced by the Romans. Not until he moves to Sicily does Plutarch again dwell on his bravery, when he comes to besiege Eryx. Here once again his ancestry comes to the fore, but this time, appropriately for one campaigning in the west, it is Heracles to whom he prays to make him τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἄξιον ἀγωνιστῆν (22.8). He is wearing his armour, it is he who mounts the scaling ladders first, and he fights magnificently—indeed, Plutarch specifically says, Homerically (22.11): ἔπαθε δ' αὐτὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσιδεῖν δεινὸς ἐφάνη τοῖς πολεμίοις [a Homeric echo in thought if not in precise wording], καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἔδειξεν ὀρθῶς καὶ μετ' ἐμπειρίας ἀποφαίνοντα τῶν ἀρετῶν μόνην τὴν ἀνδρείαν φορὰς πολ- λάκις ἐνθουσιώδεις καὶ μανικὰς φερομένην. Both his mythical ancestors unite their martial virtues in him. It is his finest hour.

It is very brief. Within a chapter, and in contradiction to the mildness of temper which he has hitherto displayed throughout the *Life*, Plutarch rather unconvincingly and with rather perfunctory motivation allows him to turn into a tyrant overnight before he leaves the storm-tossed ship (23.7) of Sicily and returns to Italy. He can still show great courage, though, as when he turns on one of the Mamertines and kills him, despite being badly wounded himself, and this is recognized: Plutarch says they thought him one of τῶν κρειττόνων (24.6). When he loses to Manius and is forced out of Italy, Plutarch is very generous in his summary of the whole western exploit (26.1–2): he praises Pyrrhus' generalship and courage, but confirms the impression so cleverly given in the conversation with Cineas, that the unbridled nature of his ambition led him to pursue new aims irresponsibly instead of securing what he had already gained, with disastrous results. The subsequent account of the attack on Antigonos (whose remark comparing Pyrrhus to a reckless gambler closes the summary just before), though it turns out well, confirms this judgement.

There are a number of uneasy tensions in the chapters leading up to Pyrrhus' death. Pyrrhus celebrates his victory over Antigonos by setting up a jaunty epigram which glorifies him through his ancestors (αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαί, 26.10) but receives with indifference the news of the plundering of the ancient tombs of Macedon at Aigai. His attack on Sparta is given a very dubious air: the traitor Cleonymus has very disreputable personal motives for bringing Pyrrhus down upon Sparta: he is despised by his wife and not given political office because he is δῖαιος . . . καὶ μοναρχικῶς

(26.16). The theme of intrigue emerges again as it becomes clear that Pyrrhus is deceiving Cleonymus as well as the Spartan ambassadors at Megalopolis; and his claim to come as a liberator from Antigonus discredits him and reminds the reader of Plutarch's earlier strictures on those who use the vocabulary of peace to further warlike ends (12.4ff.: see n. 14). The heroic defence of Sparta in her weakness is what holds our attention: Pyrrhus is almost an impersonal enemy. The anecdotes are of the courage of the Spartans, not of Pyrrhus himself until after the vision that he interprets as portending the fall of the city. It is ominous that in dismissing the gloomy interpretation put forward by Lysimachus, Pyrrhus uses an adaptation of *Il.* 12.243, which is from the speech of Hector rejecting Poulydamas' suggestion that the Trojans should not advance further, and that they will suffer heavy losses if they do. This use of Hector's words is a most interesting way of undermining Pyrrhus' Achillean aspirations. It seems that, especially in the closing chapters of the *Life*, another way in which Pyrrhus is characterized is by reference to other Homeric heroes, to Hector and Patroclus (see below). This represents a further refinement of the technique we outlined at the beginning, and is clearly capable of very subtle development: Pyrrhus aspires to be an Achilles or an Alexander; Plutarch can allow an opponent like Appius to deny him any heroic status while himself preferring to suggest that he fluctuates between attaining his ambition and in fact being more like a lesser, and more unfortunate, hero.

Sparta is saved by reinforcements, and Pyrrhus is yet again tempted by hope of gain into interfering in local intrigue, this time at Argos. Plutarch stresses that this is not mere chance: he introduces the closing chapters of the *Life* by saying τὸ δὲ χροῶν ἦν ἄφυκτον (30.2), and this inevitability is dwelt on again and again. Fateful inevitability alone would not be the stuff of tragedy. That requires the subject somehow to contribute to his own downfall, even if fate is the principal culprit. By his explanation of Pyrrhus' move to Argos in general terms rather than with reference to specific motives or aims Plutarch succeeds in making us see the fateful action as depending on and proceeding naturally from Pyrrhus' own character, his inability to remain quiet, his restless and insatiable activity. So too Oedipus' killing of Laius and his terrible discovery of his true self are motivated and made convincing through the nature of his *ethos* in *Oedipus Tyrannus*.²³

If the final chapters are to work properly, our interest must be well and truly refocused on Pyrrhus after the Spartan episode.

Plutarch does this very successfully by elaborating on Pyrrhus' reaction to his son's death. No specific epic references attend this surpassing display of valour, but it might be possible to see a hint of a parallel with Achilles' grief and wrath after the death of Patroclus, and perhaps too to Alexander's mourning for Hephaestion. His action against the Spartans is described as *ἐναγισμὸν τινα τῷ παιδί . . . καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον* (31.1): the destruction of the Cossaeans by Alexander is an *ἐναγισμός* for Hephaestion at *Alexander* 72.4, and perhaps both recall Achilles' human sacrifice at Patroclus' tomb (*Il.* 23.175ff.). Again, the point of the implied comparison is not to praise Pyrrhus or ascribe any virtue to him, for, as we have seen, excessive grief is hardly admirable in Plutarch's eyes; but the intensity of Pyrrhus' agony is heroic and serves to reinstate him at the centre of our concerns.²⁴

Pyrrhus rushes upon his own death. He challenges Antigonos to battle and is told that (31.4) *πολλὰς ὁδοὺς ἀνεφγένοι πρὸς θάνατον, εἰ ζῆν μὴ σχολάζει*. He ostensibly leaves Argos, only to return treacherously. And the portents, as usual in Plutarch, are significant: the horribly over-active sacrificed cattle and the eagle that leaves the battlefield.²⁵ The confusion and terror of battle in an over-confined space produces chaos which Plutarch describes by means of storm imagery, calling it *τὸν περιέχοντα χειμῶνα καὶ κλύδωνα* (34.1), and thus Pyrrhus' life ends, as it began, with his struggling against an elemental force. For the last time he takes off his badge of office, this time a wreath, and his death is not Achillean: stunned by a blow from an old woman, he is finally killed by Zopyrus. One is tempted to compare his death to that of Patroclus, who dies by fate, and Apollo, and the hand of Euphorbus before that of Hector, and who is not wearing his proper clothing;²⁶ there is a final twist to the theme of dress in the last chapter, when Helenus, Pyrrhus' son, is found in disguise and is reclad by the generous Antigonos.

It is by means of narrative shaping of this kind that Plutarch links his *Life of Pyrrhus* with the *Alexander*, and sketches some important similarities and differences between the career of Pyrrhus and that of Alexander. Of course, there are other important factors in the shaping of the *Life* which there is no space to do justice to, notably Pyrrhus' encounters with Rome,²⁷ but I do feel that the connections with the *Alexander* are so well integrated into the fabric of the *Pyrrhus* that they are likely to have been as important for Plutarch even as the theme of the meetings of Greek and Roman. The pitfalls

of kingship and the moral diseases to which all those in power, to a greater or lesser extent, fall victim, were of major concern to him.²⁸ The *Demetrius* is also linked with the *Alexander*, but stands in a rather different relationship to it. There are rather more epic connections in the *Pyrrhus* than there are tragic links; conversely, tragic imagery fills the *Demetrius*, and there is very little epic. It seems highly likely that this is because Plutarch saw Pyrrhus as a more complicated character than Demetrius, whose career fitted more neatly into the tragic-king mould.

At Harfleur Henry cries (*Henry V*, iii. 1):

On, on, you noblest English,
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof—
Fathers that like so many Alexanders
Have in these parts from morn til even fought,
And sheath'd their swords for lack of argument.
Dishonour not your mothers; now attest
That those whom you call'd fathers did beget you.
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
And teach them how to war.

Alexander is thus combined with the English forebears of his men to form a standard for every man in the army to attempt to reach; and this standard they are to impose in turn upon the enemy. The more extended comparison between Harry himself and Alexander (iv. 7) suggests however that for his men he alone can come up to that pattern. I hope to have shown that Plutarch has used Achilles and Alexander in a no less sophisticated way in shaping and refining the *Life of Pyrrhus*; I think that by these means he succeeds in transforming a minor biography into one of his most interesting *Lives*.

NOTES

- 1 This essay was first read as a paper at the Conference of the International Plutarch Society in Oxford, September 1989. I am most grateful for helpful comments on that occasion, especially those of Graham Anderson and Simon Hornblower. It was subsequently read at Macquarie University and at Melbourne University; I was much assisted by the comments of Tom Hillard at Macquarie and by the kind encouragement of Denis Pryor at Melbourne. My greatest debt, as usual, is to Christopher Pelling's kindness and support.
- 2 Mossman 1988.

- 3 An anecdote in Lucian both indicates that Pyrrhus was anxious to be compared with Alexander and shows that falling short of Alexander's standard could form part of a hostile biographical tradition: see Lucian *Adversus indoctum* 21, where an old woman, shown statues of various kings including Alexander and asked by Pyrrhus which one he resembled, replies that he looks like Batrachion the cook. Lévêque 1957 sums up, but he concentrates very much on (dubious) spiritual affinities between Pyrrhus and Alexander rather than on the hard cash-value of such imitation (665–6): 'Au fond c'est entre Pyrrhos et Alexandre qu'on pourrait établir le parallèle le plus frappant... Peut-être faut-il en déduire que Pyrrhos fait un peu figure d'attardé dans son siècle... Pyrrhos... est davantage l'émule d'Alexandre que le contemporain de Philadelphie ou de Gonatas.' It seems highly likely that Hieronymus of Cardia's **Τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πραχθέντα** would have set the Diadochoi firmly in the context of Alexander's achievement. It is possible that propaganda involving Achilles might have come to have a double value from Achilles' association with Alexander (for which see n. 5 below). Lévêque 1957, 28–32 suggests that Proxenos may be the source for some associations between Pyrrhus and Achilles, and thinks Proxenos is the source for the battle with Pantauchus. Be that as it may, Pyrrhus certainly struck coins showing the head of Achilles on the obverse and Thetis on the reverse: see Babelon 1953.
- 4 It is less easy to see why Plutarch thought this technique unsuitable for, say, *Eumenes*, where he could have used it paradoxically to stress the contrast between the misunderstood outsider and the unsympathetic Greeks. It is also interesting that we do not have the Romans characterized as Trojans, despite a tendency to view the combat in such terms which may be contemporary with Pyrrhus. That tradition is represented by Pausanias I. 12. 1–2, and discussed fully by Perret 1942, 409–37.
- 5 See Mossman 1988, 83–4.
- 6 On the chronology see Mewaldt 1907, Stoltz 1929, Jones 1966, esp. 66–70.
- 7 The pictorial qualities of Plutarch's writing here inspired Poussin's famous painting *The Young Pyrrhus Saved*, now in the Louvre.
- 8 The narrative at *Alex.* 16 is couched throughout in a way that suggests conflict with the river as well as the enemy: note especially Alexander's remark before the crossing **αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸν Ἑλλησποντον εἰ φοβήσεται τὸν Γρανικὸν διαβεβηκὼς ἐκεῖνον**, which personifies both the Hellespont and the Granicus.
- 9 On the death of Cleitus, see Mossman 1988, 88–9. Here, as with Demetrius' murder of Alexander in chapter 7, the dog-eat-dog nature of the struggle is emphasized: note 5.14 **τινος ὑποψίας ἅμα προσγενομένης τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον φθάσαντ' ἀνελεῖν** and 7.2 **καιρῷ δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ φθάσας ἀποκτίννυσιν ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ μειράκιον**.
- 10 On these features and the patterns that emerge in the epic see Fenik 1968.
- 11 The phrase **διὰ τῶν προμάχων** (7.8) perhaps also has an Iliadic ring: Il. 3.31 in the same way mentions the other warriors in passing to draw attention to the two who will fight the single combat: **Τὸν** (Menelaus) **δ'**

ὥς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς ἐν προμάχοισι φανέντα, κατεπλήγη φίλον ἦτορ.

- 12 On the *Demetrius* and tragic imagery, see De Lacy 1952, esp. 168ff. Plutarch comments at *Demetr.* 41.6 ἦν δ' ὥς ἀληθῶς τραγωδία μεγάλη περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον. The most famous passage, which inspired Cavafy's poem 'King Dimitrios', is *Demetr.* 44.9: παρελθὼν ἐπὶ σκηνήν, ὥσπερ οὐ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ὕποκριτής, μεταμφιέννυται χλαμύδα φαιὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τραγικῆς ἐκείνης, καὶ διαλαθὼν ὑπεχώρησεν. Cavafy, while using almost the same wording as Plutarch, conveys the idea that Demetrius' detachment and acquiescence in defeat is admirable; the context in Plutarch suggests a quite different authorial stance.
- 13 For further discussion and bibliography on this point see Lévêque 1957, 158–9 and Garouflias 1979, 48 and n. 97.
- 14 The perversion of language involved here (12.4) is reminiscent of Thucydides' description of the debasement of value terms during the Corcyrean civil war (Thuc. III. 82–3). The actual historical abuse of political language has been discussed by A.B.Bosworth in his paper 'Autonomia: The Use and Abuse of Political Terminology', delivered at the FIEC conference in Pisa, August 1989.
- 15 On the expression ἄλλυ τινὰ ναυτιῶδη see Toohey 1987 and 1988.
- 16 One of the clearest statements of this with reference to Achilles is made by Rutherford 1982.
- 17 See Mossman 1988, 91. But the side of Achilles' character we are encouraged to remember here is more destructive of himself and of others than his orgy of grief for Patroclus. There is a further irony in using this quotation here because whereas Achilles will wreak havoc by persisting in his inactivity, Pyrrhus will do so by refusing to give in to it. In some ways the Homeric reference actually points to a difference between him and his model, not a similarity.
- 18 See n. 3 above and Lévêque 1957, 269.
- 19 The theme of *logos* in the *Phoenissae* is well discussed by R.B. Rutherford in an unpublished paper 'The Use and Abuse of *Logos*' kindly lent to me by the author.
- 20 The crossing of bodies of water at the beginning of unsuccessful expeditions is a Herodotean theme: see Immerwahr 1966, index s.v. River motif.
- 21 See Mossman 1988, 90.
- 22 On significant clothing in the *Iliad* see Griffin 1980, index s.v. Clothes, symbolism of, and especially 126 on Hector donning Achilles' armour (*Il.* 17.194). The opportunity is taken to remind us that Achilles will not grow old in his father's armour: this is not only straightforwardly pathetic, because it stresses Achilles' fate, but it also insists on the utter inappropriateness of Hector's putting the armour on by emphasizing that it is an heirloom in Achilles' family, and by dwelling on the father/son relationship begins to lead up to the encounter between Achilles and Priam after Hector's death.
- 23 This is one of the implications of work on Sophocles such as that of Knox 1964: the tragic hero 'makes a decision which springs from the deepest layer of his individual nature, his *physis*, and then...maintains

- that decision even to the point of self-destruction' (5). For important discussion of characterization and motivation in Greek literature (some of which would heavily modify Knox's position and my rather different view) see the collection of essays in Pelling 1990, especially the contributions of Halliwell, Easterling, Goldhill, and Griffin, and Pelling's conclusion.
- 24 During the Italian campaign Pyrrhus has mostly been reacting to the stimulus provided by Rome, which necessarily divides the reader's attention; this is much less surprising than that Sparta should be allowed to occupy us so exclusively.
 - 25 On portents in Plutarch in general see Brenk 1977, 184–213, esp. 208–9. Here, as usual, the selection is interesting. The animated corpses of the cattle (reminiscent of the Cattle of the Sun in the *Odyssey*) reflect Pyrrhus' own frenzied and destructive activity.
 - 26 *Il.* 16.849–50. There was a popular tradition that Pyrrhus had been struck down by Demeter in the guise of an old woman: see Pausanias I. 13.8. For further versions and bibliography see Garouflias 1979, 138–41 and 460–3.
 - 27 On this theme elsewhere in Plutarch see Pelling 1989 and Swain 1990.
 - 28 The *Ad principem ineruditum*, for example, can be read as a diagnosis of, and a prescription against, these diseases.

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ASPECTS OF PLUTARCH'S *LIFE OF PUBLICOLA*

Monica Affortunati and Barbara Scardigli

I

Plutarch's affirmation (*Alex.* 1.2; *Nic.* 1.5) that he intends to write *bioi* and not *historia* is generally interpreted as an attempt to justify omissions, inaccuracies, distortions, and contaminations in his works, and to account for certain arbitrary decisions in choosing the material for his *Lives*. Apart from the fact that such programmatic declarations may be derived from the Peripatetics (who distinguish, for example, between *πρόξις* and *ἡθῆ*¹), we must not overlook that a large part of Plutarch's material comes from works of a historical nature, and only rarely does material from other literary genres (biography, memoirs, collections of sayings and anecdotes, antiquarian and mythological handbooks, among others) suffice to compose a whole *Life*. Similarly, biographies like those of Aratus, Sulla, or Cato Uticensis, in addition to biographical and autobiographical sources, draw on material from historiographers whose accounts often offer interpretative approaches at variance with biographical sources,² and constitute the very foundation of Plutarch's narrative.

For the *Life of Publicola*, despite the many digressions (which at times occupy entire chapters³), and references to contemporary times,⁴ Plutarch certainly did not have biographical material at his disposal—even his determination that Publicola was a figure worthy of his attention must have been made after reviewing materials from a historical context. In fact, a careful reading of the *Publicola* reveals that Plutarch consulted the work of a number of historiographers, some directly, some through intermediaries, layers of which may be found in the text beneath the independent redaction and interpretation of Plutarch himself.

The impulse to pair Solon and Publicola must have germinated from Plutarch's interest in Solon, and, as far as Plutarch was concerned, the match was well conceived. In the beginning of the *synkrisis* (*Publ.* 24.1) he maintains—uniquely, with respect to comparisons in previous biographies—that of the two heroes one (Publicola) imitated the other (Solon), and the other provided a testimonial of his excellence. At the time of composition, Plutarch must have already had to hand at least the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,⁵ which has much in common with the *Life of Publicola*⁶ and which displays a noteworthy interest in linking Roman personages to Solon (e.g. 2.26; 4.9; 5.65).

There is also the possibility that the inspiration to compare Publicola to Solon came to Plutarch from a Latin work: it is perhaps more than coincidence that the two passages in the philosophical-political writings of Cicero that refer to Publicola precede passages that recall the work of Solon, though without a direct link to Publicola himself. In the *De republica* (2.53–5), after reviewing Publicola's legislation during the rise of the Republic, Cicero passes to a discussion of the problem of slavery caused by debts (2.59) and the satisfactory resolution achieved by Solon.⁷ In the *De legibus* (2.58), he refers to the prohibition, as established in the Twelve Tables, of burning or cremating the dead inside the city, a privilege earlier attributed to Publicola and his descendants.⁸ He then (*De leg.* 2.59ff., cf. 2.67) goes on to discuss the parameters of mourning as defined by Solon and by the Twelve Tables.

Thus, Plutarch's reading of Cicero at the time he was shaping the *Publicola*, or some notes made by him in the preceding years,⁹ may have reminded him of Cicero's observations on Solon, with whose life and work the famous consul had certainly occupied himself often as his interest in constitutional questions increased. Cicero's passages dedicated to personages of the first Roman Republic could have inclined Plutarch to review Cicero's work in his search for a suitable partner for the Greek legislator.

II

In the following section, we will attempt to point out several characteristic aspects of the *Publicola* that illustrate how the *Life* differs from and coincides with other traditions. The picture that emerges will confirm that Plutarch utilized rather heterogeneous

materials in composing the *Life of Publicola*, from a number of historical epochs and from various generations of annalists and historians, and probably also from collections of antiquarian subjects.

First, after considering the surviving tradition, we see that Plutarch directs special attention to his protagonist by attributing to him political decisions and innovations that others attribute to Servius Tullius, to one of the Tarquins, or even to Publicola's contemporaries. Here are some examples:

- (a) In chapter 2, Publicola prevents Tarquinius' ambassadors, who are asking for the return of the king to Rome, from addressing the people. Publicola is depicted in the role that Dionysius (5.5.1) ascribes to Brutus.
- (b) In chapter 7, Publicola alone is named responsible for rewarding the slave Vindicius (who had revealed the plot against Rome by the Vitelli and Aquilii) with his freedom and Roman citizenship; Livy (2.5.9) and Dionysius (5.13.1) say instead that both consuls, Brutus and Publicola, took joint action in the matter. Furthermore, according to Plutarch, this is the first example of manumission in Rome, while Dionysius (4.22.4) and Zonaras (7.9.15=II, p. 111, 15 D) write that the first manumission took place in Servius Tullius' time.¹⁰
- (c) In chapter 11, Publicola is recognized for integrating the senate and restoring the number of senators to 300 by including the conscripts; the rest of the historical tradition attributes this decision to others: to Servius Tullius in the tradition followed by Servius (*Aen.* 1.426) and Zonaras (7.9.8=II, p. 110), to Brutus, according to Livy (2.1.10); to both consuls Brutus and Publicola, in Dionysius (5.13.2).¹¹
- (d) In chapter 16, Plutarch writes that when Porsenna was threatening to wage war on Rome, Publicola founded the colony of Signia. Livy (1.56.3) and Dionysius (4.63), on the other hand, claim that it was founded by Tarquinius Superbus.¹²
- (e) In chapter 21, Plutarch narrates that Publicola played a major role in welcoming Appius Claudius and his clients: it is Publicola who convinces these immigrants to settle in Rome, who gives them citizenship and who assigns them land. According to other authors (Liv. 2.16.3–5; Dion. 5.70.3ff.), Appius alone makes the decision to settle in Rome and citizenship is given to him by the senate.¹³ According to still

others, the immigration took place during the monarchy, at the time of Romulus and Titus Tatius (Suetonius *Tib.* 1) or of the last Tarquinius (App. *Basil.* 12).¹⁴

Second, Plutarch's *Life* contains information about Publicola that is not present in Dionysius' or Livy's accounts. Here are a few examples:

- (a) The suspicion of many Romans that Publicola might become an ally of the tyrant Tarquinius (chapter 2) after his disappointment in the consular elections. This suspicion elicits Brutus' request that the senators take an oath before him; Publicola takes it first of all (2.2).
- (b) His triumphal entrance in Rome on a *quadriga* (chapter 9) during his first consulate, after the victory over Tarquinius.
- (c) Some aspects of Publicola's legislation, such as the law establishing a fine for disobedience to the consuls (11.4); the law concerning the *quaestores aerarii*¹⁵ elected by the people (12.2); the law permitting the murder of a tyrant without a trial (12.1).

We cannot accept that the details peculiar to the *Life of Publicola* (many of which seem intended to exalt Publicola above his contemporaries) are due to Plutarch's imagination alone. Our scepticism toward such a theory is reinforced by the fact that Plutarch does not exploit every possible opportunity to emphasize his hero's accomplishments. In fact, in the second part of the *Life*, Publicola has a marginal role in comparison to the three heroic characters whom Plutarch uses as important *aitia*: Horatius Codes, Mucius Scaevola, and Cloelia.

III

Plutarch's sources for the *Life of Publicola* will also betray themselves in passages that portray Publicola with certain political tendencies, as a representative of a certain type of government, authoritative or moderate, or with typically democratic attitudes. In this section we can quote only a few examples of this phenomenon; it is also difficult both to classify the passages and to offer a straightforward interpretation of them.

This *Life*, even more than the histories of Livy and Dionysius, reveals a reconstruction of the history of the early years of the

Roman Republic in the light of later events. It is a history reinterpreted and reshaped according to the ideals which permeated political struggles in the second and first centuries BC.¹⁶

Not by chance do we find passages in late-republican authors in which contemporary public institutions and administrative measures are identified with the early stages of the Republic, and which in some cases are attributed explicitly to Publicola. For example, Livy, in the *periocha* of Book 67, on the subject of the confiscation of the property of Servilius Caepio (cf. below) writes: *Caepionis...damnati bona publicata sunt primi post regem Tarquinium imperiumque ei abrogatum*; Julius Obsequens 70, on the destitution of one's colleague, writes: *abrogaverunt autem hi: Lucius Iunius Brutus consul Tarquinio Collatino, Tib. Gracchus M. Octavio...Cn. Cinna tr. pl. P.Marullo* (see also Dio Cassius 46.49). And Cicero (*Acad. pr.* 2.5.13) asserts that the *populares* (Saturninus in particular) recall *aliquos ex antiquis claros viros populares* whom they claim to resemble, particularly Publicola, and quote all the other statesmen, who, when consuls, passed *leges populares de provocationibus* (cf. below).

The *Life of Publicola*, too, shows various connections with socio-political themes of the late Republic: Publicola is compared, more or less favourably, to men of the second and first centuries BC, to *populares*, but also to Drusus and Sulla and to their deeds and ways. Publicola is presented, for instance, as the promulgator of laws and regulations, both democratic and antidemocratic, that are dated to the late Republic and cannot have been passed in the sixth century. Below are examples of connections, analogies, and contrasts between Publicola and politicians of the late Republic. In some cases the historical context and the protagonists can be recognized and identified with a certain level of precision.

The Gracchi

The account of Collatinus' voluntary or forced resignation from the consulship, which anticipates the election of Publicola (*Publ.* 7.4; Dion. 5.9ff.; Liv. 2.2.5–11), can be compared to the dismissal of Octavius by Tib. Gracchus (cf. below: Obs. 70, Dio Cass. 46.49¹⁷). The account seems to suggest that there came together in Plutarch different versions, derived on the one hand from the *populares* tradition and on the other from that of the *optimates*, both of which would have been intent on finding a precedent for the abrogation

of a magistracy on the part of Gracchus. The latter group would have traced the cause of the precedent to an illegal deposition of a colleague, while the former (as in the tradition followed in the *Life of Publicola*) would have traced it to a voluntary decision to leave the post.¹⁸

Publicola feels obliged by the people's discontent to give up his house on the Velia (*Publ.* 10, cf. Liv. 2.7.12 and Dion. 5.19.1, though there are some differences), then personally supervises the demolition of it, and awaits the people's assignment of a more modest one. In this episode we find some particulars that can be linked by tradition to Gaius Gracchus. Gaius, as part of the plan to save his legislation, moves of his own accord from the Palatine to a less affluent neighbourhood near the Forum (Plut. *G. Gr.* 12.1).¹⁹ Publicola displays himself as a 'man of the people' (*Publ.* 10.7–8) by giving up his house, the ownership of which had caused him to be compared to the tyrant Tarquinius, and shortly afterwards acquires the *cognomen* Publicola.

The foundation of the colony of Signia (*Publ.* 16.2), through which Publicola hopes to display his indifference to the threats of war by Porsenna, is analogous to the foundation of colonies (without the military aspect) by Gaius Gracchus in 123 BC. Just as Gaius founded the colonies in times of political crisis (Plut. *G. Gr.* 6; 8.3ff.; App. *Bell. civ.* 1.23; Liv. *per.* 60; Vell. 2.6) so Publicola, during a difficult political moment, becomes involved with Signia.²⁰

Also reminiscent of the Gracchi is the contrast between two laws that appear in the *Life*, of which Plutarch writes: ὧν μάλιστα μὲν ἰσχυροὺς ἐποίησε τοὺς πολλοὺς (*Publ.* 11.3). On the one hand, he writes about the right of citizens to *provocatio ad populum*, the right to appeal to the people; on the other, about the condemnation of whoever assumes a magistracy without designation by the people. This last law is similar to another included in a group of laws passed by Publicola, which are explicitly defined as 'anti-democratic' (12.1). According to this law, immunity must be extended, without trial, to anyone who kills an aspiring tyrant. The lack of trial in this case limits the effect of the laws of *provocatio*, which in fact means the right to a regular trial.²¹ This apparent contradiction must be considered in the light of the entire discussion that occurs from the time of the Gracchi onward: Gaius Gracchus, by virtue of his *lex de capite civis romani*,²² calls into doubt the legality of his brother's death sentence, which was pronounced

without a trial;²³ and the *populares* usually denounce the declaration of a *senatus consultum ultimum*, which seems to invalidate the law of *provocatio*.²⁴ Publicola's law, that whoever aspired to tyranny could be killed, the killer not being subject to a trial, is used in the second and first centuries BC to justify the murders of both Gracchi,²⁵ of Saturninus by Rabirius (cf. below),²⁶ and of the Catilinarians (cf. below).²⁷

Thus, the ambiguous shadow of tyranny is cast on the life and deeds of both Publicola and the Gracchi, promulgators of laws against tyranny, but 'tyrants' themselves; during the period of the latter, the term *regnum* begins to have a negative meaning,²⁸ which proves to us the existence of a historiographical tradition favourable to the *optimates* alongside one favourable to the *populares*. The former tradition may have provided justification for Publicola's term of office as sole consul (comparable to Sulla's and Caesar's dictatorship, cf. below).²⁹

The perplexity of ancient and modern scholars regarding the humanitarian aims of the policy followed by the *populares* can also be directed to Publicola's possible monarchical ambitions: charges against the Gracchi and other *populares* could well arise, since these statesmen often used questionable means to increase personal power. Plutarch's Publicola arrogates to himself the right to legislate, acting as a monarch; according to Plutarch (11.1), however, only by moving in this direction could he avoid failure and the criticism of his opponents.

Apuleius Saturninus

The *publicatio bonorum* of Q.Servilius Caepio (and Cn. Mallius), commanders at the battle of Arausio (Liv. *per.* 67), brought to trial by Apuleius Saturninus and condemned in 103 BC, is recalled by the debate on the confiscation of the Tarquins' property (cf. below).³⁰ This does not have much bearing on Publicola, who formerly refused to act as mediator between the delegates of the tyrant and the people. However, a stronger parallel is found among the events of Saturninus' ascendancy: Publicola's acceptance of Brutus' new constitution (*Publ.* 2.2) through an oath willingly taken, contrary to all expectations,³¹ reminds us, by contrast, of Metellus Numidicus' refusal in 100 BC to validate by oath Saturninus' law concerning the land-assignments in Cisalpine Gaul (App. *Bell. civ.* 1.29–31; Plut. *Mar.* 29).³² The scene in the *Life of Publicola* is the

only case recorded in the historiographical/literary tradition of an oath taken by the senate prior to the one called for by Saturninus.³³

Sulpicius Rufus

The story that Publicola directed the slave Vindicius to be freed and admitted to a curia/tribe³⁴ of his own choice (*Publ.* 7.5, cf. Liv. 2.5.9; Dion. 5.13.1), probably derives from a 'democratic' tradition that deals with the liberation of slaves; we have seen that originally the action was not attributed to Publicola (cf. above), but to Servius Tullius. Another tradition attributes the freedmen's choice of admission to a particular (rural) tribe to Appius Claudius Caecus (312 BC: Diod. 20.36.4; cf. Liv. 9.48.11), a measure that soon was abolished.³⁵ Various later interpretations seem to have been imposed on this episode, since the problem of the freedmen's admission to every tribe seems to have been reconsidered only in late-republican times (e.g. the laws proposed by Sulpicius in 88,³⁶ by C.Manilius in 66,³⁷ and by Clodius in 58³⁸). The bill of 88 is linked with the new citizens' struggle to obtain admission to every tribe; perhaps this was realized in 84 with the *lex Papiria*,³⁹ since from this moment on the tribunes cared only for the rights of the *liberti*.

IV

Some episodes in the *Publicola* comparable to events in the late Republic do not reflect Publicola's sympathies towards the *populares*, sympathies for which he was compared to certain positive actions and policies of the Gracchi. These passages reveal how Publicola reacted to revolutionary acts committed by those aspiring to tyranny or by their collaborators (i.e. the conspiracy of the Aquilii and the Vitelli, cf. below), or rather how he conducted himself in situations when he himself does not seem averse to monarchy (although Plutarch would not define such situations in these terms). Passages of this kind can be found (cf. below) concerning the period before the oath to the constitution of Brutus (2.1), concerning the house, and the legislation enacted while a solitary consul (11.1). Accusations of *adfectatio regni* were surely addressed to the Gracchi,⁴⁰ to Saturninus,⁴¹ and Catiline,⁴² as to Sulla⁴³ and Caesar.⁴⁴ A few examples follow concerning figures of this second group.

Other events from the lives of Catiline and Caesar, in very different ways heirs of Sulla, are also reflected in the *Life of Publicola*. These two men were more or less distant from the *populares* who were contemporaries of Sulpicius, Livius Drusus, and Cornelius Sulla.

Drusus (and Sulla)

Legislation for an increase in the senate's membership, proposed by Drusus and realized by Sulla,⁴⁵ is also undertaken by Publicola (11.2), but his motivation is to replenish the senate's numbers, and is not tied to the administration of justice, as it was in those cases. The reception of the Sabine Appius Claudius (chapter 21) may be intended to echo the proposals *de civitate sociis danda* by Gaius Gracchus, Fulvius Flaccus, and Livius Drusus, but the episode also creates the impression that the Plutarchian narrative may be based on a superposition of elements that either favour the Claudii (Claudius Quadrigarius, for example, is of opposite tendencies to the *populares*) or disfavour them (and favour, for other reasons, the Valerii, i.e. Valerius Antias).⁴⁶

Catiline

Plutarch's mention of the letters with which the Aquilii and Vitelli must have informed Tarquinius of the plans for the conspiracy recalls the Catilinarian conspiracy: Publicola manages to get them (*Publ.* 4.3, 5.1–4; cf. Dion. 5.7.5; Liv. 2.4.4), just as the letters of the Catilinarians addressed to the Allobroges are intercepted by Cicero on the third of December, 63 BC.⁴⁷ Details common to both conspiracies include human sacrifice, blood from which the conspirators must drink (4.2),⁴⁸ and of an oath taken on the victim's viscera.⁴⁹ In Dionysius this particular correspondence with Catiline is lacking; he only knows of an invitation ἐφ' ἑρὰ καὶ θυσίαν (5.7.2).

Caesar (and Sulla)

On the occasion of his victory over Tarquinius and the Etruscans, Publicola supposedly paraded through the city on a *quadriga* (*Publ.* 9.9), the first of the consuls to do so since the era of the kings (and, according to Dionysius 5.16.2, in the manner of the kings). In the opinion of some, writes Plutarch, the triumph elicited jealousy

and bad feeling. Here Plutarch defends Publicola against criticisms prompted by this act that are not present in the account of Dionysius.

This passage should be examined alongside an analogous one in the *Life of Camillus* (7.1):⁵⁰ after recounting the capture of Veii, Plutarch reproaches Camillus for being overcome by pride and arrogance and for overstepping the boundaries set for the magistrates of the Republic. Camillus is said to have gone through the streets of Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses. Therefore Plutarch on the one hand defends the triumph of Publicola and pronounces the bad feeling reported by some authors to be unfounded (saying that otherwise the ceremony would not have later become an honour continually sought after, *Publ.* 9.9), while on the other hand he denounces Camillus' gesture as a unique and unheard-of event, unprecedented either before or after him. According to his incorrect (see above) information, the honour was to be bestowed only on the kings and on the father of the gods, and thus, at the time of Camillus, it was improper for a human being to receive it. It is noteworthy that in both the *Lives*, immediately after the passages concerning the two triumphs, Plutarch writes about the hatred that both men must have provoked ultimately from the people: Publicola by remaining for several times a solitary consul, without a colleague; Camillus incurring the people's hatred by other acts inappropriate to his position (7.2).

Probably both heroes were charged with *adfectatio regni* by writers belonging to clear-cut historiographical currents (for Publicola, cf. below). Given the reference to the triumphs, we may place these sources in the age of Caesar.

Caesar was granted a triumph even before his return from Africa, in 46 BC, and he was the first to parade through the streets in a chariot drawn by white horses (Dio Cass. 43.14.3). But unlike Camillus (as even Augustus points out in a speech: Dio Cass. 52.13.3), Caesar had justification:⁵¹ the white horses had been granted by the senate, together with other honours likening him to Jupiter Capitolinus. Publicola is criticized for equivocal behaviour (although only according to 'some', in the case of the triumph), yet is represented parading through the streets on horses that do not seem to have been white, and, according to Dionysius (5.17.1), with permission of the senate.

It is likely that Plutarch has used two traditions in reporting the triumph of Publicola: one hostile to Caesar (such a hypothesis is

supported by the similar passage in the *Camillus*),⁵² the other defending both Caesar and Publicola.

The theme of criticism of the solitary consul (*Publ.* 10.1–2) brings to mind the dictatorship of Sulla and Caesar.⁵³ However, the manner in which the criticism is presented in 11.1 alongside the announcement of the elections for a second consul mitigates its effect, even though Publicola is about to promulgate his entire legislative programme alone to avoid the risk of opposition from his future colleague. Plutarch, at least in part, justifies Publicola's tactics by appealing to his good intentions. This line of defence may derive from a tradition that defends Sulla against accusations of tyranny by emphasizing his abdication. Since a part of Publicola's laws were, or at least seemed to be (cf. below), of a popular strain, a tradition favouring Caesar's legislative programme might also be present here.

According to Plutarch, Publicola was buried at public expense and every citizen was supposed to contribute a *quadrans*. The former honour was called *funus publicum*, an honour which evidently was granted for the first time to Sulla⁵⁴ and is contrasted with the vicious maltreatment of the corpses of *populares* like the Gracchi and Marius, for whom the *optimates* showed no pity.⁵⁵ The contribution of money refers to a *funus collaticium*,⁵⁶ precursor of the *funus popolare*, the most celebrated funerals of this type being those of Clodius and Caesar.⁵⁷ Only Plutarch, of surviving authors, reports a *funus collaticium* for Publicola. In his account two traditions from the late Republic are superimposed.⁵⁸

V

The presence in the *Publicola* of these examples of late-republican historiographical tradition is striking and invites further reflection. The details of these examples reveal the contradictory traditions evident throughout this *Life* which surfaced in the Gracchan period and that following, in annals such as those written by Calpurnius Piso, by Valerius Antias, and by later authors.

Valerius Antias, more than any other author, is undoubtedly responsible for the positive image of Publicola seen in Plutarch's *Life*—not only by linking certain institutions and military endeavours to his illustrious ancestor, but also by opposing, with this new image, the negative image of Publicola that must have originated in preceding annals (Piso?).⁵⁹ This form of defence is still quite

apparent in Plutarch's *Life*; alongside traces of an arrogant and tyrannical figure, we find a Publicola who is kind and open towards the common folk. Still, the presence among Plutarch's sources of a writer like Valerius Antias is not enough to explain why Plutarch endowed his Publicola with marked populist sympathies, especially if Antias writes in the Sullan age and has primarily *optimata* tendencies.⁶⁰

From the age of Sulla we are aware of only one author who wrote annals from a democratic point of view: Licinius Macer (*trib. pl.* 73).⁶¹ He must have written about early Roman history, even if he dedicated little space to it,⁶² but we know nothing about his treatment of Publicola; besides, relations between the Licinii and the Valerii seem to have been strained.⁶³ It is difficult to believe that as early as the time of the Gracchi (that is, before Valerius Antias) a 'democratic' historiography could have risen that would have been the original source of popular legislation in Publicola's career. Certainly a tradition distinct ideologically from that of Antias could have existed before him, but it would have been difficult to create such a tradition prior to Antias about the figure of Publicola. Therefore another (perhaps 'democratic') author, probably a contemporary of Antias and Macer, must have combined Antias' favourable version of Publicola with the 'democratic' tendencies of someone else.

For the period of the first civil war until the death of Caesar, a great number of historical works must have been published: these would have been of an annalistic and monographical character, including a rich oratorical and publicist production, and demonstrating various viewpoints and political biases, at one moment agreeing with, at another contradicting each other.⁶⁴ We can get an idea of these types of works from sporadic citations in Appian, Suetonius, and Plutarch himself.

Very little remains of this type of writing; even less of the particular vision of Publicola from which Plutarch could have derived the tendencies that he ascribes to the statesman, most of which he could not have been the first to invent.

Plutarch unearthed, for example, information on Publicola from the annalist Fenestella, especially for the *Quaestiones Romanae*.⁶⁵ His fragmentary work, predominantly antiquarian and institutional, concerns the archaic period of Rome⁶⁶ with, for example, information about the origin of the *provocatio*;⁶⁷ at least two passages of this type in the *Life of Publicola* may be traced to him, though perhaps

only indirectly.⁶⁸ Also, as we learn from Plutarch's *Lives*, Fenestella mentioned some later figures, comparatively near his own time: he wrote about Marius and Sulla; about Crassus and the conspiracy of Catiline;⁶⁹ about Cicero and Cato Uticensis⁷⁰—but there is no evidence that the popular image of Publicola could have been included in his work, especially since the institution of *provocatio*, according to him, recalls the period of the kings.

The works of other annalists of the Caesarian age are still more difficult to judge, since we know almost nothing about them. There is, for example, Q.Aelius Tubero, a Caesarian and former follower of Pompey; his work, entitled *Historiae* (fr. 1 Peter), which included a fragment about Caesar's will,⁷¹ dealt briefly with the history of early Rome; we may also include L.Scribonius Libo,⁷² a noted political figure, if he can be identified as the famous Pompeian who went over to Caesar after Pharsalus, and dedicated himself to historical studies (a *liber annalis*), until, upon the death of Caesar, he chose to follow Sextus Pompeius, and, after the battle of Naulochus, Antony.⁷³

We could enumerate other possibilities without going beyond the bounds of speculation and hypothesis. Within the examples already cited, though, it is interesting to verify the understandable instability in the political position of each individual writer, echoed in each's work.

The Ciceronian passages already cited give us an idea of this: in *De republica* (2.53 and 55) Publicola is presented clearly as the author of certain measures well received by the people, who then bestow the cognomen Publicola on him (cf. Plut. *Publ.* 10.9; Dion. Hal. 9.19.5; Liv. 2.8.1). Cicero concludes his considerations by stating (2.55) that Publicola was an extraordinary man, *qui modica libertate populo data facilius tenuit auctoritatem principum*, a virtue fully confirmed in the following paragraph (2.56) and pointed out also by Plutarch (10.8–9). This observation might be a cautious critical reply to those who presented Publicola as a true 'democrat'.

Even more eloquent and manifest is the passage in the *Academics* (2.13, cf. below), where Cicero makes Lucullus say that the *populares* appeal to illustrious figures of the past, like Publicola and other consuls, *qui leges populares de provocationibus tulerint*. Cicero then enumerates among these consuls C.Flaminus (cos. 223 BC), who, as tribune of the people in 232 BC, proposed an agrarian law opposing the will of the senate (cf. Polyb. 2.21.7–8); L.Cassius Longinus Ravilla (cos. 127 BC), whom Cicero elsewhere

defines as *dissens a bonis atque omnis rumusculos populari ratione aucupans* (*De leg.* 3.35), and who, probably through Scipio Aemilianus (*De leg.* 3.35, *Brut.* 97), as tribune in 137 BC, promulgated a *lex tabellaria* (secret voting in the *indicia populi*). He mentions also the popular Q.Pompeius (cos. 141 BC), who in 140 BC drew up the fraudulent pact with the Terrestians and the Numantians (*Liv. per.* 64; *App. Iber.* 76; *Dio Cass.* 33.16), and even Aemilianus himself, who probably was the true promoter of the *lex Cassia* (*Cic. De leg.* 3.37). This list even includes the brothers P.Crassus Mucianus (cos. 131 BC) and P.Mucius Scaevola (cos. 133 BC), who were members of the senatorial group that supported Ti.Gracchus and Caius Marius (*Cic. Brut.* 98).

The Ciceronian passage from the *Academica* implies an accusation against the *cives seditiosi* (headed by Saturninus: 2.14) who recall illustrious examples (certainly not all those quoted by Cicero could have been illustrious, as is evident from Cicero's opinion about Cassius): according to the *cives seditiosi*, these may have been *populares*, as they were themselves. In the same way, Cicero, polemizing through Lucullus against scepticism,⁷⁴ notes that those who seek to upset a recognized philosophical system recall famous philosophers, like Empedocles, Anaxagoras, and so on, and even Plato and Socrates, just as those who seek to overturn a political system recall illustrious *populares*.⁷⁵

Compared to the passage in the *De republica* (written between 54 and 51 BC), the passage in the *Academica* (written in 45 BC) is more explicit and direct, and perhaps it is not by chance that the list of *populares* consuls ends with Marius, the contemporary and countryman of Cicero, and does not go beyond him.

In conclusion, the *Life of Publicola*, although certainly less organic and homogeneous than that, for example, of Coriolanus, and perhaps at first glance neither very attractive nor coherent, reveals notable points of interest not only for scholars of Roman antiquity, but above all for historians.

NOTES

Parts I and V are the work of B.Scardigli, parts II and III of M.Affortunati, part IV of both.

- 1 Cf. Dihle 1956, 62; Scardigli 1991, 28. Cornelius Nepos must have been influenced by the Peripatetics, if he writes in his *Life of Pelopidas* 1.1:

Vereor...ne non vitam eius enarrare sed historiam videor scribere.

- 2 Cf. Valiglio 1987, 51ff.; Hillard 1987, 30ff. The *Cato Uticensis*, for example, belongs to the six *Lives* of heroes of the late Republic, which Pelling 1979 rightly links with Asinius Pollio. However, throughout the *Cato Uticensis* there seem to be traces of Munatius Rufus' biography of Cato *via* Thræsea Paetus (Fehrle 1983, 6ff.). In his *Life of Aratus*, furthermore, Plutarch utilizes the hero's memoirs and two historians, Polybius and Phylarchus, the former being favourable to Aratus, the latter unfavourable (Orsi 1987, pp. ixff.). The *Life of Sulla*, similarly, contains passages derived from Sulla's memoirs alongside others with highly anti-Sullan tendencies.
- 3 *Publ.* 8, 11, 13, 15.
- 4 Cf. expressions like ἀχρη νῦν, μέχρι νῦν, εἰς ἡμᾶς in 7.8, 9.9, 10.7, 11.6, 12.3 and 5, 19.10, 23.6; and especially all of 15.
- 5 The *Publicola* must have been written at nearly the same time as the *Coriolanus*: cf. Flacelière 1964, 165ff.
- 6 Since the opinion that this *Life* (unlike the *Coriolanus*) depends directly on Dionysius of Halicarnassus has long since been abandoned, we must posit a common source for Plutarch and Dionysius, almost certainly Valerius Antias: cf. especially Peter 1865, 45ff.; Bocksch 1894, 169; Bocksch 1895, 180ff.; Münzer 1891, 9ff.; Volkmann 1955, 180ff. Direct consultation of various generations of annalists (not only of Livy) presupposes, of course, Plutarch's relatively good knowledge of Latin, which some scholars have unjustly denied him. In favour of Plutarch's familiarity with Latin, cf. for instance Scardigli 1979, 5; Pelling 1979, 95f.; La Penna 1987, 221.
- 7 In Dionysius (5.65.1), Publicola's homonymous son, who reportedly has taken up his father's favourable political stance towards the plebs (see below), advises the senate in 498 to avoid the *secessio plebis*, by guaranteeing the poor release of their debts. In this context Dionysius cites the example of Solon.
- 8 Cf. *Publ.* 23, 5; *Quaest. Rom.* 79. See Scuderi 1988, 130f.
- 9 Patterns of Plutarch's use of Cicero are discussed, for example, in Valiglio 1982, 283ff.
- 10 Cf. Daube 1946, 72ff.; Gabba 1961, 112ff.
- 11 The measure is ascribed to Publicola only by Festus (p. 254 M.) who quotes also the exact number of the new members. See especially Palmer 1970, 262ff. According to Momigliano 1967, 208ff., the tradition that proposes that the *conscripti* are created at the beginning of the Republic is not authentic (cf. Richard 1978, 478f.; Staveley 1983, 26ff.).
- 12 For the year 495, Livy (2.21.7) writes *Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta est*, without connecting Publicola with this second action. Cf. Alföldi 1963, 140 (according to him nothing of Livy's account of the colonization of Signia is genuine); cf. also Hermon 1978, 14f.; Cassola 1988, 7.
- 13 For the immigration of the Claudii to Rome at the beginning of the Republic see Momigliano 1969a, 34; 1969b, 489; cf. Ampolo 1970–1, 37ff.; Ferenczy 1976.
- 14 Taylor 1960, 35ff.

- 15 Cf. Zonaras 7.13.3=II p. 124, 7 D. For the complex question of the origins of the *quaestores aerarii* see Mommsen 1887, 544; Latte 1936, 27ff.; Siber 1952, 95ff.
- 16 Cf. in general Gabba 1982, 809ff.
- 17 The pro-Gracchan account in Plutarch (*Tib. Gracch.* 11–12) underlines that Tiberius attempted to persuade Octavius to resign the tribunate of his own will, but that because of the tribune's rigidity, it was necessary to vote in this way. Plutarch suggests that the action by which Tiberius took away Octavius' office was legitimate. Cf. Liv. *per.* 58; Ascon. 72 Clark; App. *Bell. civ.* 1.12, 49; Diod. 34/35.6–7; Vell. 2.2.3; *Auct. de vir. ill.* 64.4; Oros. 5.8.3; and also Cic. *pro Mil.* 27.72. See J. Martin 1970, 94ff.; Badian 1972, 706ff.
- 18 The different versions of the Collatinus story seem to have origins precisely in the sphere of juridical disputes in the age of the Gracchi (cf. Mazzarino 1967, 454 ff.). We see this phenomenon particularly in the treatments by C. Sempronius Tuditanus (cos. 129 BC) and Junius Congus Gracchanus of the magistrates, of which some were expected to be for *optimates* and some for *populares*. Tuditanus might have given a version similar to that of Calpurnius Piso (fr. 19 Peter; see below): hostile to the Gracchi, Piso speaks of Collatinus' voluntary withdrawal (cf. especially Bauman 1966: according to Bauman the tradition about Collatinus is connected instead with another case of *abrogatio* of a magistrate in the late Republic, that of the *triumvir* Aemilius Lepidus).
- 19 Cf. Stockton 1979, 178; Yavetz 1969, 98f.; Vanderbroeck 1987, 118. Livius Drusus also modified his house, laying open his private life to all (Plut. *Praec. ger. reip.* 4,800 F; Vell. 14.1; cf. Münzer 1926, 865).
- 20 Cf. especially the establishment of a colony at Carthago (Plut. *G. Gr.* 10.2; App. *Bell. civ.* 1.24, 102, *Lib.* 136, 644). For this reason Gaius was absent from Rome for several months, in spite of the political situation, which required his presence. Cf. Kornemann 1900, 522ff.; Fraccaro 1925, 93f.; Gabba 1967, 79, 83.
- 21 This emerges clearly in a few passages of Dionysius (5.70.2): 'the law introduced by one of the consuls, Publicola...provided that no Roman should be punished before he was tried...'; see also 7.36.3. Cf. Noë 1979, 100f.
- 22 Gaius sought scrupulous application of the right of *provocatio*: cf. Cic. *Pro Rab. perd.* 4.12: *ne de capite civium Romanorum iniussu vestro* (cf. Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 55, 151; *In Verr.* 5, 63, 163; *In Cat.* 1, 11, 28; Gell. 10.3.13; Plut. *G. Gr.* 4.2). See Rotondi 1912, 309; Kunkel 1963, 739f.; Meier 1965, 583 and 600ff.
- 23 Gaius was angry with the *optimates* who were responsible for his brother's and his followers' illegal prosecution by the senate. Cf. *G. Gr.* 4.1f.; Cic. *De amicit.* 11, 37; Vell. 2.7.3ff. with Brecht 1938, 246; Siber 1942, 387; Rödl 1968, 87ff.; Lintott 1972, esp. 259ff.
- 24 From the bibliography on this subject, see Plaumann 1913, 382; Rödl 1968, 28ff.; Ungern von Sternberg 1970, 50ff.; Crifò 1970, 428ff.
- 25 For Tiberius Gracchus see above. Gaius was killed by Opimius, who was put on trial in 120 BC: Cic. *Part. or.* 30, 106; *De orat.* 2.106, 132.
- 26 Cf. the charge against Rabirius instituted in 63 BC, nearly forty years

- after Saturninus' murder, by T.Labienus (on behalf of Caesar: Suet. *Jul.* 12; cf. Strasburger 1938, 284, 302). This was an attack of the *populares* against the *senatus consultum ultimum*; Rabirius was defended by Cicero and acquitted: Cic. *Pro Rab. perd.* 2ff.; *Or.* 102; Dio Cass. 37, 25, 1–2. Cf. J.Martin 1965, 52ff.
- 27 In his speech (Sall. *Cat.* 51) Caesar criticizes the implications of the *senatus consultum ultimum*. The *lex Clodia* in 58 BC was used against Cicero, because he had had citizens killed 'without trial'. Cf. Rotondi 1912, 394f.; Gruen 1974, 244ff.
- 28 Cf. Wirszubski 1950, 100; Dunkle 1967, esp. 156ff.; Giua 1967, 326.
- 29 The *lex Valeria de Sulla dictatore*, promulgated by L.Valerius Flaccus in the *comitia centuriata* established dictatorship *legibus scribundis et reipublicae constituendae*: cf. App. *Bell. civ.* 1.99, 462; Cic. *De leg. agr.* 1.15, 42; *Pro Roscio Am.* 43, 125; *ad Att.* 9.15.2; Plut. *Sull.* 33.1f.
- 30 Cf. Affortunati 1989b, 242ff.
- 31 The opposite case obtained in 59 BC, when relatives and friends (particularly Cicero) persuaded Cato only with difficulty to take the oath required for the *lex agraria* promulgated by Caesar; senators, compelled by oath, seem to have expressly remembered Metellus Numidicus' fate (Plut. *Cat. min.* 32.6).
- 32 Plut. *Mar.* 29; App. *Bell. civ.* 1.29, 130–1, 140. Cf. Gabba 1956, 107ff.; Gruen 1965, 576ff.; Hackl 1982, 187ff.; Linderski 1983, 452ff.
- 33 Epigraphical evidence indicates a senatorial oath that might precede that of Saturninus by almost a generation: De Ruggiero 1941, 279 cites a senatorial oath for two laws in the Republican age: one is the *lex Appuleia* of Saturninus (100 BC), the other is the *lex Bantina*, of uncertain date: according to some it was promulgated in 118 BC, according to others it belongs to Saturninus' laws or to a later period. See for example: Passerini 1934, 109ff.; Tibiletti 1953, 57ff.; Gabba 1967, 103f.; Hinrichs 1970, 471f.
- 34 Instead of *φρατρία* (*Publ.* 7.7) Plutarch uses *φύλη*. Cf. Taylor 1960, 134.
- 35 Cf. for example Staveley 1959, 415ff.; Cassola 1962, 102ff.
- 36 Cf. Liv. *per.* 77; Ascon. *In Corn.* 64 Clark; Plut. *Sull.* 8.2. See Rotondi 1912, 346; Taylor 1960, 143f.
- 37 Cf. Ascon. *In Corn.* 64 Clark; Dio Cass. 36.42.2. Rotondi 1912, 378.
- 38 Cic. *Pro Mil.* 87; Ascon. *In Mil.* 52 Clark; Cf. Treggiari 1969, 47ff.; Flambard 1974, 269ff.; Flambard 1977, 149ff.
- 39 Liv. *per.* 84. Cf. Rotondi 1912, 348.
- 40 Cic. *De amic.* 40; Sall. *Bell. Jug.* 31.7; Liv. *per.* 59; Plut. *Tib. Gr.* 14.2–4, *G. Gr.* 6; Vell. 2.4, 6; Flor. 2.2. On the *adfectatio regni* of Publicola, cf. P.M.Martin 1982, 316ff.
- 41 Plut. *Mar.* 30.1
- 42 Sall. *Cat.* 5.5.
- 43 Sall. *Hist.* 1.31; 1.55.1, 7; 3.48.1, 9; Cic. *De leg. agr.* 1.21, 2.81, *Phil.* 2.10.8; 5.17.44; *Ad Att.* 8.11.2; App. *Bell. civ.* 1.3.9. Cf. Laffi 1967, 258ff. For Cicero's position cf. Giua 1967, 324.
- 44 Cf. particularly Cic. *Phil.* 3.34.80, 5.17, *De off.* 3.83; Plut. *Caes.* 64.1; App. *Bell. civ.* 2.110, 460f.; Suet. *Jul.* 79.4; Dio Cass. 44.15.3–4. Cf. Gesche 1976, with a summary of the problem and a bibliography, 153–63 and 298ff.

- 45 Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 37.6; Dion. Hal. 5.77, 4; App. *Bell. civ.* 1.100, 468f. Liv. *per.* 89. See Gabba 1967, 343ff.; 1973a, 159ff.; and 1973b, 407ff.
- 46 Cf. Wiseman 1979, 63ff.; 113ff.
- 47 Cf. Cugusi 1970, 100.
- 48 See Sall. *Cat.* 22, who speaks of blood mixed with wine: cf. Heurgon 1949, 438ff.; Marasco 1981, 168ff. Plutarch (*Cic.* 10.3) says that the conspirators exchanged oaths of fidelity, as a sign of which they killed a man and tasted his flesh, among other things. Cf. Dio Cass. 37.30.3.
- 49 Floras (2.12.4) mentions cups of human blood. Cf. Schwartz 1903, 349.
- 50 Cf. Diod. 14.117.6; Dio Cass. 52.13.3 (Augustus' speech); *Auct. de vir. ill.* 23.4; Zon. 7.21.1=II p. 148, 1 D.
- 51 However, the episode is only in Cassius Dio, a convinced believer in the institution of monarchy.
- 52 Cf. Hirschfeld 1913, 278; Momigliano 1942, 92–3. Cf. Versnel 1970, esp. 67, 397.
- 53 On the concept of Sulla's dictatorship as tyranny, which is present also in Dionysius, see for example App. *Bell. civ.* 1.98, 457ff. with the commentary of Gabba 1967, 267ff. For Caesar, see the problems exposed by Gesche 1976, 154ff. On a pamphlet of democratic tendencies (first century BC) against Caesar, present in Livy 38.56, cf. Scardigli in Ronconi and Scardigli 1980, 490.
- 54 Cf. App. *Bell. civ.* I.105, 495ff.; Gran. Lic. 36, 25ff. See Hug 1918, 530; Poplawski 1927, 275ff.; Gabba 1956, 289; Labruna 1976, 146. For this honour to a private citizen see however Polyb. 6.53.1ff. Of ancient date seem to be the *maestitia publica* ascribed to Brutus (Liv. 2.7.5; cf. Plut. *Publ.* 9.10), as here to Publicola.
- 55 Among the various sources for the burials of the Gracchi see Liv. *per.* 58; Val. Max. 6.3.1; Plut. *Tib. Gr.* 20.4; *C. Gr.* 17.5–6; App. *Bell. civ.* 1.16, 70; *Auct. de vir. ill.* 64.8; Oros. 5.9. For Marius, see Gran. Lic. 36.25ff.; *Cic. De leg.* 2.22, 56–7; *Pro Rosc. Am.* 53.153; Plin. *Nat. hist.* 7.54.187; Val. Max. 9.2.1.
- 56 Cf. Eutr. 1.11, *collatis a populo nummis*. See also the funeral of Menenius Agrippa: Liv. 2.33.11, *extulit eum plebs sextantibus conlatis in capita*.
- 57 For Clodius see especially *Cic. Pro Mil.* 33; *Phil.* 2. 90; App. *Bell. civ.* 2.21, 75ff.; for Caesar, Plut. *Caes.* 68.1–2; Dio Cass. 44.51. On the problems connected with the *funus popolare* see the specific study of Achard 1975, 166ff.
- 58 On the two traditions see Affortunati 1989a, 153ff.
- 59 On traces of Calpurnius Piso in Plutarch see for example Boscherini 1947, 144.
- 60 According to the majority of scholars, Valerius Antias wrote his *Annals* between 80 and 60 BC: cf. especially Münzer 1891, 60ff. and Volkmann 1948, 2313f., who underlines a possible connection between Valerius Antias and L. Valerius Flaccus, proponent of the law that awarded the dictatorship to Sulla (see n. 29). At the turn of the century, scholars proposed a date between 60 and 30 BC: for instance Holzapfel 1899, 52; Zohren 1910, 28ff. This date has been proposed again recently by Cloud 1977, 226f. There is a new thesis about his social background in Timpe 1979, 113ff.

- 61 Ogilvie 1984, 8f.; see however Richard 1989, 77ff.
- 62 Mazzarino 1966, II, 166. Cf. also La Penna 1963, 301; Ogilvie 1984, 12; Richard 1989, 77ff.
- 63 Münzer 1920, 190.
- 64 It suffices to quote the authors who have written about the early Caesarian period: for example Strasburger 1938, 206ff., or Mazzarino 1966, II, 441ff.
- 65 Fenestella lived between 35 BC and 35 AD. Cf. Delvaux 1989, 130. Asconius (*in Corn.* p. 53, 22 Stangl) puts Fenestella next to Sallust and Livy (cf. Mazzarino 1966, II, 383ff.).
- 66 Delvaux 1989, 135f.
- 67 Sen. *Ep. ad Luc.* 18.5.30 (=fr. 6 Peter II). Cf. Mazzarino 1966, II, 384.
- 68 Delvaux 1989, 137f.
- 69 Delvaux 1989, 129ff.; 141ff.; Hillard 1987, 23.
- 70 Delvaux 1989, 132ff.
- 71 Klebs 1894, 537.
- 72 The name of the author is conjecturally restored in App. *Bell. civ.* 3.77. 315; cf. Magnino 1984, 183.
- 73 Mazzarino 1966, II, 399 recalls that the Scribonii Liboni had no regard for either the memory of Caesar or that of Cassius.
- 74 Cf. Seager 1972, 332f. and 337.
- 75 Cf. Thiaucourt 1885, 58.

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PARADOXOGRAPHY AND
POLITICAL IDEALS
IN PLUTARCH'S
LIFE OF SERTORIUS

Luis A. García Moreno

The historical figure of Sertorius, despite his minor importance in comparison with the other protagonists of the late-republican *bella civilia*, has not ceased to be of interest to modern historiography. This interest has certainly never been free of controversy centred on the acceptance or not of the judgement of Sertorius given more than a century ago by the great Mommsen. According to the German Nobel winner, the Roman general would have been 'one of the great men, perhaps the greatest of all that Rome had produced, and one who in more fortunate circumstances could perhaps have become the regenerator of his country'.¹ This enthusiastic evaluation was contested even in its day by his countryman Ihne.² The polemic rests on deciding whether what lay behind his actions was a real political design for the unstable *res publica* of the day after the *bellum Marsicum* or only a desperate fight for survival by an able and astute warlord, who lacked a political cause to serve with his sword or to enrich himself by after the final disaster of the Porta Collina.

However, my intention is not to take up yet again that hoary debate. It is enough to say that in antiquity it had already begun in tones much like those of modern historiography. To summarize some ideas and advance others, it could be said that the debate centred on three major themes which are entangled in historical analysis. First, Sertorius' legitimacy as a Republican; second, the moral legitimacy of his actions in and of themselves; and last, the actual character of the Roman commander. The first two were framed by the debate on Sertorius' relations with the Hispanic natives and

Roman settlers in Iberia, his dealings with the Cilician pirates and Mithridates Eupator, and the nature of his relations with the simulacrum of a Roman senate he founded in Osca. These two questions could only be sanctioned by Graeco-Roman historiography—so concerned with the dramatic effects of narration and psychological analysis of the actions of its historical protagonists—once it had decided the third question, which would judge Sertorius' character as being generous or avaricious; choleric and cruel or moderate and pacific; licentious and voluptuary or austere and virtuous.³ Sertorius' biography is one of the long series Plutarch dedicated to personalities of the last century of the Roman Republic, a period for which the author demonstrated special interest with a moralizing objective as well as a propagandistic one. Plutarch, as C.P. Jones among others has written, felt that at the end of the Roman Republic Rome was marked by a clear decadence in its ruling class that dragged along the masses, as the consequence of the accepted political theory that the ruler mirrors his society and is the mirror in which his subjects fashion their image.⁴ For Plutarch the moral decadence of the late-republican ruling class would have been particularly explicit in two facts.

The first was the rapacity and brutality suffered by the provincials and natives at the hands of the Roman governors and generals who at the same time consented to any kind of excess or disorderly behaviour by the troops under their command. The second was that, far from imposing their authority on the basis of the force of their personal morality and virtue, the generals of the time based the necessary loyalty of their troops on promises of booty to be obtained from the vanquished enemy, be he a provincial or Roman-Italic. Both these were the motor behind the civil wars and the causes of the ineffectiveness of the Roman Empire as pacifier and stabilizer of the *oikoumene*, and more specifically, as protector of Hellenism, and Plutarch saw monarchy as the only solution to that state of things: a pacifying moderate monarch, one who would be favoured as much by divine design as by his own fortune.⁵ For Plutarch, as for many other observers of antiquity, that fatal reversal of roles in the relations between the general and his troops, the final cause of the outbreak of the civil wars, was produced in the times of Sulla and in good measure was the consequence of his attitude towards his soldiers.⁶ For this reason it is not strange that Plutarch fixed on Sertorius to form part of his late-republican portrait gallery. Although a minor historical figure, Sertorius was at the end

the last and most tenacious opponent to Sulla's dictatorship. And in this respect we must note that Sertorius' biography was, for Plutarch, the principal life of the biographical pair *Sertorius-Eumenes*.⁷ The brave and unfortunate Cardian general was the only character of Hellenistic history included in a biographical series by the classicist Nepos, Plutarch's guide in so many things.⁸ However, for Plutarch, Eumenes' biography is completely subordinated to that of his Roman pair and constitutes both his negative and positive counter-point, since for Plutarch, if the tenacity and bad luck of the two were comparable in some points, their moral virtues were very different. Sertorius far surpassed the Greek in the fundamental virtues of moderation, philanthropy, and the rule of spirit over body.⁹ These were the virtues of the sage of the Cynic-Stoic tradition,¹⁰ and would have resulted in Sertorius being followed by his soldiers by reason of the authority (ἀξίωμα) that his virtues inspired in them, while his soldiers would have obeyed Eumenes only in the hope of obtaining reward and booty,¹¹ as had occurred, in Plutarch's opinion, with so many other Roman generals at the end of the Republic, as we have already said.

The perfect fit of the Sertorian biography to Plutarch's historiographic project with regard to the late Republic and the same prophetic symbolism embodied by Sertorius' final defeat by Sulla's regime—Sertorius being the last representative of the old Roman generals and Sulla the father of the corrupt new soldier-general relationship—render more noteworthy the late inclusion of Sertorius' biography in the vast design of the *Parallel Lives*, at a time when these had already attained considerable success, and Plutarch was being pushed to add new chapters.¹² This delay in writing Sertorius' biography may be explained by considering the sources Plutarch could have used to compose it.

As Joseph Geiger has noted, Sertorius' biography belongs to a group dedicated to characters from the Republic—Marcus Antonius, Flamininus, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, and Marius—who are characterized by their coupling with parallel figures in Hellenistic history and who, outside these *Lives*, are not frequently cited in the rest of Plutarch's work, especially the *Moralia*, or more concretely, the *De fortuna romanorum* and the *Quaestiones romanae*.¹³ To be more precise, Sertorius is only mentioned once in the *De fortuna romanorum*.¹⁴ This seems not only a clear indication of the lateness of the composition of *Sertorius*, as Geiger astutely pointed out, but also of the few opportunities Plutarch must have had of encountering

the figure of Sertorius in his very wide historiographic readings. This figure was doubtlessly a minor one in the tormented universe of the last century of the Roman Republic, and could only have appeared in the lengthier narrations of the general history of that epoch. In Plutarchian studies it is now quite hackneyed to mention Plutarch's poor knowledge of Latin in spite of his sojourns in Italy and his many Roman friends. This was why, whenever it was possible for him, and before consulting possible translations or summaries of Latin works that had been made by friends or collaborators, as C.P.Jones has mentioned, Plutarch would consult authors who wrote in Greek to inform himself on Roman subjects.¹⁵ There is no doubt that for the time in which Sertorius was active the most extensive and widely diffused study written in Greek in Plutarch's intellectual circle would have been the *Historiae* by Posidonius of Apamea, the final chapter of which was almost a species of *in extenso* separate monograph, referring to Pompey, whose earliest great military successes were so closely related to the story of Sertorius.¹⁶ There are obvious proofs that Plutarch knew the historical work of Posidonius well, and that he used it to the hilt when he wrote the story of the Rome of the first quarter of the last century before Christ. In this respect, it is enough to indicate the undoubted and close dependence that has been noted since ancient times between Plutarch's biography of Marius and the work by Posidonius, including the negative opinion that the latter held of the old Marius, after he met him full of hate and rancour in Rome at the beginning of the *Cinnanum tempus*.¹⁷ It is also unquestionable that Plutarch used the book when he wrote his very laudatory biography of Pompey.¹⁸ This last is all the more striking in the measure by which a favourable judgement of Pompey signified open criticism of Caesar and his direct heir, Augustus. In any case Plutarch would have been able to find a global judgement of moral and political character in the late Republic in Posidonius' *Historiae* that would have been to his own taste. The Stoic philosopher believed that the Roman ruling class had sunk itself deeply in moral degeneration after 145 BC. This moral decadence was reflected domestically by the civil wars and the cruelty and egotistical ambition of the Roman leaders of the time; abroad the amorality had engendered innumerable wars and rebellions as a consequence of the cruelty and perfidy of the Roman generals towards the vanquished peoples, a behaviour far distant from the virtues of clemency (*epieikeia*) and philanthropy that Posidonius proposed as the cardinal points for the government of any empire.¹⁹

However, Posidonius, who was a personal friend to people tied to the optimate circles close to the late Pompeian cause, as well as himself a declared admirer of Pompey,²⁰ could not judge Sertorius without criticizing Pompey, who, as we know, used his campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula against Sertorius for his personal propaganda. Although the original Posidonian *Historiae* are lost to us, we believe that there are some indications that can give us a pretty fair idea of how Posidonius' *Historiae* would have judged Sertorius. In this respect the testimony of Diodorus Siculus may be basic. It is commonly said, and has never been questioned seriously, that this curious historian for all practical purposes based his narrative from Book 33 onwards exclusively on Posidonius.²¹ The Sertorian subject matter would have been treated in Book 38, which was mostly dedicated to the social and civil wars and the First Mithridatic War. Unfortunately, the Diodoran fragments that are preserved in the Constantinian Excerpts are too scanty to give an exact idea of the flavour of the original narrative on the Sertorian War that Diodorus may have found in his Posidonian source. Specifically, the Byzantine summary only gives us news of Sertorius' end, with his death at the banquet given by the traitor Perpenna and his fellow conspirators.²² However, what is said there is sufficiently conclusive to affirm that Diodorus—and consequently his Posidonian source²³—had a very negative opinion of the Sabine politician. Specifically the Sertorius of the last days is presented by Diodorus in fairly gloomy tones. Unable to impose his authority upon his Iberian allies, Sertorius practised a policy of cruelty, with summary executions and confiscations. His personal enrichment revealed excessive avarice, since he refused to share even the smallest part of the riches accumulated in this way among his soldiers or officials. Acting contrary to the Republican legal procedure that any Roman magistrate would have respected, Sertorius became the only judge in these summary trials, and refused to consult his council or indeed the sham senate he had created, even in the cases of capital punishment. In fact, in the words of Diodorus himself, Sertorius revealed himself to be a tyrant lacking the moderation and *philanthropia* that Posidonius so valued in a ruler.²⁴

Unfortunately, the Byzantine summaries of Diodorus have not transmitted any anecdote about the behaviour of Sertorius' major opponent in Spain, young Pompey the Great. However, it can be supposed that in Diodorus, and doubtless his source Posidonius, Pompey's personality would have been characterized as the opposite

of Sertorius' in every way. At least, this deduction seems reasonable if we judge by the characterization that Diodorus has left us in Book 38 on Pompey's first years in the army, the ones immediately before his confrontation with Sertorius. According to the corresponding fragments of the Constantinian Excerpts, Pompey would have decided to follow a military career from a very early age, and to this end he had begun to practise habits of austerity continuously—depriving himself of food and luxuries, limiting his sleep, and so on—which would have provided him with outstanding courage (*andreia*).²⁵ Placed in charge of the Sicilian government in 82 BC, at only 22 years of age, Pompey had displayed extraordinary ability and moderation in the administration of justice, and demonstrated the rule of spirit and virtue over irrational passions at all times;²⁶ all of which doubtlessly fit perfectly the ideal image of a ruler-sage as proposed by the Stoic Posidonius.²⁷

The nature of the Diodoran fragment referring to Sertorius allows us to consider whether or not such a negative characterization might not have been more than the natural product of a psychological analysis that could be explained by the *μεταβολή τύχης* that he had suffered, the kind of analysis that was so to the taste of the dramatizing Hellenistic historiography. However, although Sertorius' incapacity to overcome the blows of fortune already distanced him from the Posidonian ideal ruling type, other information allows us to affirm that the Posidonian characterization of Sertorius did not contain enough room even for this explicable metamorphosis of personality. We already noted the certainty of a Posidonian source for the Plutarchian biography of Marius. In the notorious anecdote of the excesses committed by Marius' bodyguard of ex-slaves, the so-called Bardiens—the ethnographic tinge further confirms an origin in Posidonius²⁸—the final massacre of the guards at the hands of the officials sent by Cinna and Marius, among whom Sertorius stood out, is presented as an act of extreme cruelty on the part of the latter.²⁹ Sertorius' signal participation in the elimination of the Bardiens seems to have constituted one of the central points of the historiographic debate among the ancients on his characterization. The Plutarchian biography of Sertorius—which, as we shall see, is based on a very favourable source—presents Sertorius as a contrast to the rancorous and cruel Marius and Cinna in the year 84 BC. Plutarch here states that Sertorius committed no crime for vengeance's sake and did not become arrogant from the victory of his faction. Instead, he tried to calm down and moderate the sanguinary and

vengeful Marius and Cinna in every possible way (*Sert.* 5). His moderating influence would have been notable for the physical elimination of the Bardiens, which, according to Plutarch (*Sert.* 5.5), Sertorius undertook on his own authority.

Another biography by Plutarch, the one on Pompey the Great, could help us to complete Posidonius' original narrative about the adventure of Sertorius, since, as we have already noted, the negative judgement of the latter required favouring his great opponent, Pompey. Plutarch's biography of Pompey is famous as one of the most laudatory he ever wrote; and this is even more noteworthy when we remember that these praises clashed with the imperial Augustan propaganda that Plutarch favoured in many other places, as well as with his generally negative opinion of the generals and politicians of the time of the civil wars.³⁰ So, given Posidonius' feeling of friendship and admiration for Pompey, Posidonius is normally seen as source for the Plutarchian portrait of Pompey.³¹ From the beginning, the treatment Plutarch gives to the activity undertaken by young Pompey in Sicily coincides to a very large measure, although it is naturally more developed, with the one already discussed found in Diodorus' report, at least according to his Byzantine epitomists. Even though Pompey went to Sicily to stifle a rebellion, moderation and philanthropy were the distinguishing features of his actions, in frank contrast with those of one of the rebel leaders, Perpenna, a later ally of Sertorius (*Pomp.* 10.1–2). Plutarch presents, and contrasts with other contrary historiographic testimonies, Pompey as trying to avoid carrying out the severely repressive orders he had received from Sulla, going so far as to help some of the proscribed men to escape (*Pomp.* 10.4–6). When the time came to narrate Pompey's campaigns against Sertorius in the Iberian Peninsula, Plutarch begins by presenting the latter as the clear anti-hero of the entire episode. There Sertorius is described as the quintessence of all the evils of the civil wars (*Pomp.* 17.1); and we have already seen how these constituted the most detestable product and symbol of the Republic's decadence for Plutarch as much as for Posidonius, who was surely his source for these passages. Metellus Pius is presented in these passages as a second antithetical figure to Pompey, a contrast to him in behaviour and military virtues. Metellus' faults, no doubt, would have impeded his victory over Sertorius before the coming of Pompey (*Pomp.* 17.2). Not only was Metellus a fat old man, but he had indulged himself in all kinds of excesses and vices (*Pomp.* 18.2)—contrary to the simple life of the

young Pompey, whose behaviour was always presented as embodying the true virtue of moderation (*sophrosyne*).³² Pompey's *mores* and habits would have inspired a radical change in the troops of the Republic, who would now be disposed to obey the young general solely for the prestige and authority emanated by his virtues (*Pomp.* 18.1). These were exactly what Posidonius had presented as the positive characteristics of the Republican generals of the earlier generations.³³ In spite of the foregoing, Pompey, like the true sage in the Cynic-Stoic tradition,³⁴ would always have shown special deference to Metellus, and so acted with meticulous respect for Republican legality.³⁵ To sum up, in his Hispanic campaign Pompey had finally given evidence of altruism and generosity: not only did he take more care of his life and the lives of his soldiers than of his wealth in open, and for them disastrous, contrast to the behaviour of Sertorius' troops (as seen in the anecdote about the Battle of the Sucro, *Pomp.* 19.3); but he also financed the fight for Republican legality with his own fortune (*Pomp.* 20.1). In his final judgement of Perpenna, Plutarch again defends Pompey's actions against some detractors and presents his motivations as having been political prudence and the salvation of the Republic itself (*Pomp.* 20.3–4). As we shall see below this is a very different image of Pompey the Great from the one Plutarch himself would give us in his biography of Sertorius. This observation is sufficient to indicate to what measure Plutarch was a slave to his sources or selected them in function of the heroizing interests of each biography, as well as how little he was concerned by striking inconsistencies within the corpus of *Parallel Lives*.

This view in the *Life of Pompey* is clearly hostile to Sertorius and very favourable to his conqueror Pompey, and has, we believe, a clear Posidonian root, to judge by the testimonies of Plutarch and Diodorus. Even in addition to the two cases we have already analysed, it evidently had an important echo in ancient historiography.³⁶ Although the problematic of Appian's sources for his *Civil Wars* is still quite debatable, the idea of a Posidonian basis for the oldest parts does not seem to be without foundation although, it is true, it would be through the mediation of the extremely popular Nicolaus of Damascus or another Greek.³⁷ Like Plutarch in his biography of Pompey, Appian also ends his narrative about Sertorius by praising both Pompey's political prudence and his interest in avoiding new Roman civil conflicts, as proven by the summary execution of Perpenna as soon as he had threatened to reveal the

names of Roman citizens involved in Sertorius' rash attempt (*Bell. civ.* 1.13.115). Appian also shares the view that the discussion above attributed to the Diodoran fragment, that the psychological metamorphosis had taken place in Sertorius as a consequence of the negative turn of military events after Pompey's arrival in Spain. This metamorphosis was characterized by the abandonment of any habit of austerity or physical exercise and by surrender to a life of luxuries and pleasures, surrounded by women and wine (*Bell. civ.* 1.13.113). His liking for alcohol was to be his perdition, since Perpenna and his co-conspirators were able to get away with their plan by making him drunk at the banquet to which they had invited him. As the result of all this, Sertorius' temperament would have become distanced from moderation and philanthropy, and in fact, he gave indications of monstrous cruelty which caused Perpenna, who had come to fear for his life, to plot against him (*Bell. civ.* 1.13.113). But we have already indicated that, within the Posidonian matrix of Sertorius' story, such a metamorphosis in psychology and behaviour would not have meant a complete break from his earlier behaviour.

As we have said, it seems that in Appian cruelty would have marked Sertorius' career from the start. The first Sertorian anecdote related by Appian refers to the brutal punishment he meted to his own soldiers during the occupation and sacking of Lauro: he had an entire cohort of Roman citizens executed because one of them had attempted to rape a native woman (*Bell. civ.* 1.13.109). But more interesting is that Appian, when he reported this *paradoxon*, did not try to justify it within the framework of a known *topos* by referring to the respect Sertorius showed the civil population, although Plutarch had skilfully used that same *topos* in his biography in benefit of his hero.³⁸

It is evident that the Posidonian matrix for the Appian report we are commenting on had already been contaminated with other sources and different readings, one of which could have been Nicolaus of Damascus. In this respect it is interesting to note that the portrait of Pompey that we are given in Appian—except for the passage cited above, denigrating Perpenna and not Sertorius, which would be why Plutarch had also transmitted it in his biography of Sertorius—is not as favourable as the one in the Plutarchian biography of Pompey, which we have already analysed. Appian does not hide the supposed or real defeats of Pompey at Sertorius' hands, as did Plutarch, and he does not give us a negative

image of Metellus, whom he presents as having a leading role, one even more important than Pompey's, in waging the war against Sertorius (*Bell. civ.* 1.13.110; 112). Evidently, the sources intervening between Posidonius and Appian were not so interested in exalting Pompey, nor could they have been, and they may have been opposed. With reference to this, it should be remembered how Plutarch, referring in Pompey's biography to Pompey's activities in Sicily and his execution of Perpenna, alludes to the existence of hostile historians bent on showing the protagonist as cruel, vengeful, and in short, one of Sulla's pups. He names Caius Oppius as one of the anti-Pompeian historians and, in general, he rejects testimonies on Pompey offered by people close to Julius Caesar as being doubtful.³⁹

By these words Plutarch was also alluding to Sallust. First, we should recall the known aversion of the pro-Caesarian Sallust to Pompey, as well as his affirmation that he had written his historical work for the purpose of scotching stories referring to the time of Sulla's dictatorship which had been written only to justify the dictator and his allies and under the direct influence of Sulla himself. According to Sallust, who cited the annalist Sisenna in particular, these authors wrote from envy.⁴⁰ This annalistic tradition—either from Sisenna himself or more probably through the more used and known Valerius Antias, also a declared supporter of Sulla and Pompey—would have been the source from which Livy's story about the Sertorian wars would have been derived.⁴¹ At least, from what we can glimpse of that narrative—starting with the *Periochae* of Livy,⁴² and those of Florus and Orosius, which depended on Livy⁴³—this tradition treated Pompey's confrontations with Sertorius favourably and showed Sertorius as cruel and sanguinary and lacking any philanthropy even for his own friends and allies, and all the while presented the Sertorian war as the prototype for the most abject cruelty that the moral decadence stemming from any civil war could produce. The pen of Sallust wrote against this Roman annalistic tradition and Posidonius' narration, which favoured Pompey and criticized Sertorius. The judgements of Posidonius, whom we know Sallust had read deeply and used as a source and evident inspiration for his moralizing view of history as well as the moral decadence of the late Republic, must have particularly worried the Roman historian.⁴⁴ Fortunately, a quote from the Sallustian *Historiae* has survived and it reveals its author's sympathy for the figure of Sertorius, who, according to Sallust,

had been the object of a plot of silence in his own times because he had not belonged to the nobility, while after his death his story would have been mistreated *per invidiam scriptorum* (Sall. *Hist.* 1.88). Unfortunately, Sallust's principal work has not come down to us in more than a few scattered fragments and summaries.

However, it has long been unanimously affirmed that the Plutarchian biography of Sertorius is fundamentally, if not exclusively, based on the *Historiae* by Sallust.⁴⁵ Several almost literal similarities between the *Lives* and the preserved Sallustian fragments make this affirmation quite certain. The greatest difficulty in accepting the use of a work written in Latin by Plutarch, who declared himself to be very inexpert in that language, can be overcome if we remember that the Sallustian *Historiae* were translated into Greek precisely in the times of Plutarch himself;⁴⁶ this would, in passing, also explain the late incorporation of the biography of Sertorius into his *Parallel Lives* and the profound and obvious contradictions between that story and the one Plutarch had already published in his biography of Pompey, which we have discussed above. In any case Plutarch must have been deeply motivated to decide to write the biography: whatever the perspective, Sertorius was a minor figure in the great drama of the civil wars of the late Republic, one with a polemical historiographical tradition, and, above all, the one from the entire and very long series of characters in his biographies, whether Greek or Roman, who would be the least familiar to a cultured Greek-speaking public. It does not seem that his motive could be other than the impact that reading Sallust's biography of Sertorius had had on Plutarch, since that biography would have perfectly fitted the moralizing and political objectives Plutarch pursued in his activity as an intellectual.⁴⁷ This is not the proper place to discuss Sallust's historiographic point of view, which he himself defended *in extenso* in his famous prologue to *Bellum Jugurthinum*.⁴⁸ In any case, if we considered, roughly speaking, appropriate the traditional division of the historiography of the Hellenistic epoch into two great tendencies or currents—the historico-positivist, whose principal theorist would have been Polybius; and the rhetorico-tendentious one, represented by Nicholas of Damascus—it is evident that Sallust would have fitted the second better, like the majority of the historians of his times. To follow the traditional division of historical discourse into three categories made by Sextus Empiricus following Asclepiades of

Myrlea,⁴⁹ Sallust would have practised the pragmatic modality of *ιστορία ἀληθῆς τρόπος πρακτικός*

Obviously Plutarch and his *Parallel Lives* should be included in this category of history, and with even more reason. As C.P. Jones has said, the primary objective Plutarch pursued in his biographical series would have been none other than offering the reader moral lessons based on the characterological study of his protagonists.⁵⁰ In this type of historical discourse it was certainly true that the verisimilitude of the narration was more important than the bald truth; and we must not forget, either, that their criteria for verisimilitude were quite a bit wider than ours. Plutarch, as a good Aristotelian, also believed in the superiority of poetry over history since the former was closer to the essence of things and further from contingency and chance. And to bring as close as possible the second to the first it was obvious that it was necessary to abandon the narrative forms inaugurated by Thucydides and Polybius in historiography and return to the traditional ones, in which, instead of political analyses, anecdote and particulars would occupy the greater part of the discourse. The anecdotes should generally recount extreme situations in which the protagonists reveal the authentic nature of their psyche, their vices or virtues.

In the search for these extreme anecdotes in which the protagonists of history could demonstrate their personalities and characters, it is evident that anything we might call 'paradoxographical' would serve perfectly. Paradoxography, because it was strange, exceptional, or even miraculous, served to indicate concretely the distance separating those anecdotes that were worthy of being recorded by the historian from those experienced by common mortals. On the other hand, because it contained a larger part of irrational elements, paradoxography suited well the mentality of the times, which considered historical events and individual behaviour to be equally ruled in large measure by irrational forces, generally subsumed in the concept of Destiny or Fortune. Finally, paradoxography made the narration more interesting, and so brought history closer to poetry (epic) and the novel.

In a stimulating article, Emilio Gabba noted how a typical theme in the Hellenistic historiography of the paradoxographical and moralizing tradition was the narrative about islands;⁵¹ or better yet, the setting on islands (generally located in the mysterious circumterrestrial Outer Ocean) of a historically realistic historical

event that was obviously paradoxographic and frequently reflected the author's social, political, and moral utopias and ideals. This is doubtlessly the historiographic context for the famous anecdote of the voyage, which, according to Plutarch, Sertorius had proposed to make to the so-called Isles of the Fortunate (*μακαροί*), as a modern historian has recently pointed out.⁵² According to Plutarch, Sertorius hoped to sail there after he heard of the islands from some Gadian sailors that he had met in the mouths of the Guadalquivir River in Spain when he was a fugitive from Sulla's followers circa 81–80 BC (*Sert.* 8). The entire passage in which the supposed voyage of Sertorius is inserted drips with paradoxographic elements—the happy islands enjoyed ideal rainfall and climatic conditions with constant spring-time and, as a result, their soil offered abundant food with no need of agricultural toil at all. This image equates the Sertorian islands to the utopian societies, which also had an island character, and which were described by known Hellenistic paradoxographers like Iambulus, Euhemerus of Messenia, or Dionysius Skytobrachion,⁵³ of whom we have epitomes in Diodorus Siculus.⁵⁴ To strengthen the paradoxographic nature of the report, Plutarch finally invokes the belief that the Elysian Fields sung about by Homer were to be found on such an island (*Sert.* 8.3). Blind acceptance of the reality of the poet's geographic data was a basic element in all the paradoxographic geography of the time.⁵⁵ In the following chapter Plutarch continues a story that also has clear paradoxographic overtones. Using as a springboard Sertorius' victory over the Mauritanian Ascalis and the taking of his last refuge, the city of Tingis, Plutarch spins a paradoxographic tale of the mythical origins of the city. It took its name from Tinga, the wife of the giant Antaeus and later, after he was killed by Heracles, of the Greek hero. Her Heracleian lineage would continue in the Mauritanian dynasty of Juba II (25 BC–AD23). To give the *paradoxon* more colour, Plutarch tells us of Sertorius' desire to visit the tomb of Antaeus, which was to be found in Tingis, and in the excavation of which neither the Roman general nor his biographer doubted were to be found the authentic mortal remains of the mythical giant.⁵⁶

To our mind, posing the positivist problem as to the real geographical basis for the Plutarchian data or polemicizing with Schulten and his ilk (still some, but, fortunately, not all, modern historians) as to whether the Isles of the Blest were either the Canaries or Madeira is not worth the bother.⁵⁷ More important, on the contrary, would be investigating the sources for this *paradoxon*. Referring to

the digression on Tingis and Antaeus, Plutarch mentions, only to refute, the historical data of Juba II himself (*Sert.* 9, 5). Certainly we know both of Plutarch's familiarity with some of the writings of this last Hellenistic monarch in North Africa,⁵⁸ and of the royal authorship of the *Libyaka* and, in addition, a monograph on that famous paradoxographic piece known as *Periplus of Hanno*,⁵⁹ in which there was special emphasis on a description of the Atlantic coasts of the African continent, where numerous *mirabilia* from the most fertile paradoxographic tradition were to be found.⁶⁰ We know that Juba located the traditional Isles of the Blest off that coast, and that an expedition he had sent out had managed to land there.⁶¹ Nevertheless, some difficulties arise if one is to take Juba's writings as the immediate source for the Sertorian *paradoxa* of the Isles of the Blest. The greatest difficulty would certainly not have been that, if we are to believe Pliny the Elder, Juba II believed the Isles of the Blest to number five and not two, as Plutarch had affirmed. This only shows Plutarch's desire to adapt himself to the more common and canonical number of two for the Isles of the Blest or Hesperidae, as this number had been transmitted by the immense majority of paradoxographical writings.⁶² Without doubt, a greater difficulty for the acceptance of Juba II as the source for Plutarch would be the authentic existence in the Sallustian *Historiae* of a *paradoxon* relating Sertorius' intention to travel to those islands.⁶³ However, the data referring to the vegetation of the islands and their distance—on the condition that Hispanic Cadiz were substituted for the African continent, as no doubt had been done in the Sallustian original—would better fit the paradoxographic description made by one Statius Sebosus.⁶⁴ According to Pliny, Sebosus, following the general tradition cited above, had referred to only two islands, located some 1,000 Roman miles from Gades: Invallis and Planasia.⁶⁵ If this assumption is right, the hitherto evasive figure of the paradoxographer Statius Sebosus would be freed from his traditional role of being a mere epitomist for Juba II,⁶⁶ and could now be identified with the person of the same name and friend of Quintus Catullus cited by Cicero.⁶⁷ But, if we are to write of *mirabilia sacra*, it is obvious that Plutarch would not have limited himself to following his source, Sallust, but would have widened the African anecdote on Sertorius with the *paradoxon* about the *sacra Antei*,⁶⁸ the source for which Plutarch himself declared also to have been Juba II (*Sert.* 9). However, it does not seem that in this last *paradoxon* Plutarch was willing simply to copy Juba and Sallust. Undoubtedly criticism of Juba's genealogical

interests was very pertinent to the important modification that Plutarch introduced into this *paradoxon*. For although nearly all mythographers believed that the *sacra Antei* were located in the originally Phoenician and later Claudian colony of Lixus or Larache,⁶⁹ Plutarch thought they were to be found further north, in Tingis. This modification was certainly necessary if he wanted to connect Sertorius and Juba with the *paradoxon*, since the historical data would have mentioned Juba's domination in Tingis, certainly not Lixus.

But what interest could Plutarch have had in connecting his hero with the *sacra Antei*? To our understanding, this is certainly the primary question with regard to that *paradoxon*, as it was with the earlier one of the Isles of the Blest, although in respect to the latter case, the question should also be extended to Sallust. The different answers to one and the other should show us some of the common and separate objectives pursued by Sallust and by Plutarch.

It is not strange that Sallust would have embodied his conceptions of ideal government in Sertorius. These ideals were doubtless to be found along the lines of the Cynic-Stoic tradition, which had been reflected so clearly by Posidonius in his moral-philosophical and historical works, which as we have noted were very much used by Sallust himself. In this tradition, the ideal ruler was the same as the true sage. This status was achieved by an educative or formative process (*paideia*) that was begun in childhood and practised continuously thereafter. In concordance with a unitarian conception of the human being, this training would affect body and soul, and exercise the physical faculties as much as the intellectual ones. Training in both categories of faculties, nevertheless, would have culminated in a final unified phase that was dominated by *askesis*. The latter consisted in familiarizing the body and soul by continuous exercise to supporting extreme hardships. The figures of Ulysses and Heracles were proposed as the mythic models for *askesis* because by means of their efforts and difficulties they had attained the authentic self-sufficiency of the sage, which also benefited their companions and subjects. The imitation of Heracles and Odysseus was also based on the exaltation of individual action and the isolation of the ideal sage-ruler, who continuously watched over the sleep of his companions and subjects—a vigilant individualism that was frequently embodied in the use of cunning and skill to win victory over one's enemies.⁷⁰

Rapidly glancing over the first chapters of Plutarch's biography of Sertorius would show how in Sallust's account the first steps of the life and career of the hero would have conformed in every detail to this ideal; and how the beginnings of another Sallustian hero, one with a clear Posidonian tradition, Jugurtha, also conformed to a great degree with it.⁷¹ From his tenderest infancy Sertorius would have practised self-imposed difficulties and striven to achieve self-sufficiency as rapidly as possible.⁷² Bereft of his father at an early age, Sertorius would have been carefully educated by his mother, and in being fatherless, would equal other orphaned hero-rulers in the Cynic-Stoic tradition: Heracles and Cyrus the Elder. The first stage of his education would have been intellectual and he attained rhetorical renown.⁷³ But his early participation under the orders of Gaius Marius in the war against the Cimbrians and the Teutons would have introduced him to a second educational stage that centred on physical exercise (*Sert.* 3); through *askesis* he would have reached in this stage an optimum development of his military skills, which would be based not only on physical aptitudes but also on his capacity to decide and advise. As a military tribune with Didius in the Iberian peninsula, Sertorius soon gave proof of his capacity as a ruler and as a general beneficial to his subordinates. The popular anecdote of the enemy attack on the Roman troops barracked in Castulo shows a Sertorius who watches over the sleep of his soldiers alone and who triumphed over the enemy by means of a neat and cunning trick.⁷⁴

However, in the Cynic-Stoic tradition, war could not be an objective in itself. For Ulysses and Heracles, war-making had constituted no more than a heavy *ponos*. Born of avarice and love of money, war was an evil that could only be justified as a means to remove those vices and causes, and so obtain lasting peace; for that reason the good ruler would show maximum generosity, magnanimity and clemency (*epieikeia*) when the time came to administer victory.⁷⁵ These were all virtues that Sallust strove to glorify and recommend to Caesar in his epistles.⁷⁶ Such were the virtues Sertorius would have displayed at the slightest occasion that presented itself, as happened during the rule of Cinna and Marius in Rome. Unlike these two, Sertorius would have been the only one who had not assassinated anyone for vengeance or greed and who had not shown overweening pride in the victory (*Sert.* 5.1–2, 5); all this would have been well exemplified by the famous anecdote of the Bardyians (*Sert.* 5.5), to which we referred earlier, and which

constituted the touchstone for both the pro- and anti-Sertorian tradition. It would have been exactly this profoundly anti-war attitude of Sertorius that Sallust would have developed by employing a paradoxographic narrative of the supposed voyage of the hero to the Isles of the Blest. Tired of wars and tyrannies, Sertorius would have wanted to retire to a world which, being an island without room for greed (Nature had supplied its inhabitants with all kinds of goods), could engender neither violence nor war.⁷⁷

It is true, however, that Plutarch could not completely accept Sallust's concept of good rule. The image of Sertorius, tired of war and tyrants and thinking of abandoning the fight and retiring to an Atlantic Utopia, would have provoked some misgivings on Plutarch's part, as this would have been very far from his notion of the ideal ruler, as we understand it from other passages of the *Parallel Lives*.⁷⁸ This is possibly why Plutarch felt a need to present it as having been a fleeting wish and have Sertorius immediately return to his obligations to his followers and suffering humanity in general. These obligations were the reason why he undertook the generous fight against the tyrant Ascalis in Tingis (*Sert.* 9.2ff.). This would explain Plutarch's interest in balancing the Sallustian *paradoxon*, very famous in its time, of Sertorius and the Isles of the Blest with his own more accessible one of the everyday hero and the sacra Anteï, even though that required manipulating his paradoxographic sources and going against the *opinio communis* which had located the mortal remains of Heracles' victim in Larache and not in Tingis. Evidently, by the paradoxographic broadening of the Tingitan anecdote on Sertorius—which could already be found in Sallust, with his proposal of re-establishing the social and economic status quo in Tingis or Lixus—Plutarch insisted on and strengthened the modelling of Sertorius along the canons of the ideal ruler of the Cynic-Stoic tradition. The relation Sallust established between Sertorius and the Isles of the Blest—whose location at the western end of the Atlantic clearly identified them with the Gardens of the Hesperides⁷⁹—symbolically reinforced the similarities between Sertorius and Heracles, a connection that Plutarch hammered home when he continued the supposed voyage with a visit to the tomb of Antaeus, another location with Heracleian resonances. In this way the final Plutarchian narration of paradoxographic Sertorian geography was no more than a reflection of Heracles the ruler in Sertorius the hero: Cadiz, the Isles of the Blest (Garden of the Hesperides), and the Kingdom of Antaeus.

After the success in Tingis Sertorius returned to the peninsular scene in response to the petition for help from groups of Lusitanians (*Sert.* 10). This would have given Sallust a new opportunity to criticize the cruel and rapacious imperialism of the last years of the Republic and insist once again on Sertorius' closeness to his concept of the ideal ruler: austere and fearless in the face of danger, generous and moderate in victory, astute in directing war and ruling his subjects, and faithful in friendship; to wit, a new Heracles and a second Ulysses.

Sallust must certainly have expanded on the subject of Sertorius' craftiness, not only from what we can judge from Plutarch's biography but from the reworking of this theme in other Latin literary works which had drunk directly from Sallust: Frontinus, Pliny the Elder, and Aulus Gellius.⁸⁰ In this aspect, the paradoxographical anecdotes interest us more than the successful military strategies; nevertheless, since Schulten's time the positivist school of criticism has generally given more attention to the second, and from them has deduced the existence of supposed guerrilla warfare on the part of Sertorius.⁸¹ Fundamentally, two paradoxographic anecdotes would have demonstrated the astuteness of Sertorius-Ulysses: the *paradoxon* of the white doe and that of the horses and their grooms.

Positivist use of the *paradoxon* of Sertorius' white doe⁸² has been frequent, interpreting the episode as tied to some divinity related to deer, anything from the Celtic *Cernunnus* to the Lusitanian *Ataecina*, whose Roman version was usually the huntress Diana.⁸³ For our part, we prefer not to enter into this type of analysis, declaring, however, our doubts as to the advisability of using paradoxographic material to reconstruct ancient ethnography. Nor, and for the same reasons, shall we enter the debate on whether the incident of the white doe indicated tendencies to follow charismatic warlords among the natives.⁸⁴ However, Gabba's remark as to the fundamental character of civil war in Sertorius' Hispanic adventure is opportune, since Sertorius essentially looked for support from the Romano-Italic settler groups on the peninsula.⁸⁵ To sum up, our analytic perspective would simply consist in considering the anecdote in relation to the general objectives of the literary work in which it is found. In this sense, the *paradoxon* would serve to give an exotic tinge to an ideal model referring to Sertorius' capacities and virtues. In this respect, the summary of the entire anecdote that Aulus Gellius has left us, doubtless taken directly from Sallust, is illuminating.⁸⁶

Gellius locates the *paradoxon* in the wider context of the incredible astuteness that Sertorius demonstrated during his rule. He employed false letters that he had invented himself or dreams and oracles that were equally false, among other ruses.⁸⁷ Plutarch, no doubt looking for a more colourful and exotic narrative, one that would be more enjoyable to a reading public that relished *mirabilia*, chose the *paradoxon* of the white doe, which was widely known in its time. But, as in both Plutarch and Sallust, the entire story simply elaborated the *topos* of Sertorius as Ulysses, a prototype for the ruler of the Cynic-Stoic tradition, the one who would put his wisdom at the service of his governing efforts as well as of vanquishing his enemies.⁸⁸

Sertorius would also have demonstrated his astuteness in the famous story of the two horses and their grooms by means of which the Roman would have taught his over-eager native soldiers that in war, perseverance is better than brute force.⁸⁹ The anecdote certainly comes from Sallust, and, like the one above, was very popular in ancient times, as Valerius Maximus and Pliny the Younger testify.⁹⁰ As Schulten himself warned in his day,⁹¹ the story of the two nags and their grooms—one nag with a thick strong tail and the other with a weak, stringy one; one groom able to pull out the strong tail, even though he was physically weak, by plucking it hair by hair, the second despite his great strength unable to do the same with the stringy tail, since he insisted in tugging it off in one go—is very much like a famous fable from Aesop, although the moral has been changed a bit.⁹² Sertorius used it to show the values of perseverance and of strength in union versus weakness in disunity; although Aesop's tale only shows the second, in the end the moral is the same. Sallust had only substituted the horses' tails for the bundles of sticks, staves, or arrows, according to the different versions. The way the anecdote is introduced into the context and its objective as a moralistic demonstration in the form of a hypothetical dialogue between Sertorius and his audience, which one supposes to be natives with barbarous minds and little philosophical understanding, classify the story of the two horses as a diatribe. The diatribe, in fact, was defined by Hermogenes as a 'moral exposition on a well-known brief subject (*topos*)'.⁹³ The fact that this wellknown *topos* is directly related to Aesop reinforces still more strongly the idea that by his treatment, Sallust personified in Sertorius the ideal ruler of the Cynic-Stoic tradition. Sertorius behaved like a true Cynic sage in persuading his subjects through

this mirror form of philosophic dialogue. This transformation of more or less obscure historical characters into ruler-sages of the Cynic tradition was not at all uncommon in the historiographic panorama of the Hellenistic Age.⁹⁴

The *paradoxon* of the white doe also indicates another facet of Sertorius that is generally little studied—his sweetness of character, full of affection and love, even for animals. Sertorius was so fond of his doe that he was invaded by profound sadness and despair when she fled for a time (*Sert.* 20). Jacqueline de Romilly, in a stimulating although repetitive book, classifies Plutarch as the author *par excellence* of 'sweetness' in classical antiquity, who subsumes an entire philosophic and literary tradition on this topic that goes back to the Socratic school.⁹⁵ By elevating the typical Sertorian virtues of sweetness of soul—*praotes*, *epieikeia*, *philanthropia*—Plutarch surely did no more than accentuate the characterization of the Roman general that was already present in Sallust, and—since these were an extension of the moderation and magnanimity that were proper to the practice of the essential virtue of *phronesis*—doubtless the one most proper to an authentic sage/*sophos*. In this specific case, and given their common sympathy for Pythagorean doctrine, Plutarch would have been attracted as much as Sallust by Sertorius' fondness for the white doe. Since, unlike Stoicism, Pythagoreanism believed that animals shared some kind of soul or reason,⁹⁶ practising or feeling *praotes* towards an animal would constitute real training in true *philanthropia* for the apprentice sage.⁹⁷ Plutarch's presentation of Sertorius as the ideal incarnation of 'sweetness' may have led him to have a special interest in emphasizing the affection that joined Sertorius to his mother. According to Plutarch, Sertorius had not loved any woman other than his mother, and when he heard of her death was filled with desperation.⁹⁸ This contrasts with other reports claiming that Sertorius had illegitimate children, which were transmitted by the analytic tradition hostile to Sertorius.⁹⁹

The insistence that his mother had been his only love would certainly also serve the objective of presenting Sertorius as an austere sage, one far removed from luxuries or vices, in particular, a taste for gold and silver, women, wine and abundant food. These vices in Plutarch's biography of Sertorius are presented as belonging to his rivals, whether Metellus or Perpenna.¹⁰⁰ Faced with these pleasures, Sertorius, like a hero in the Cynic-Stoic tradition, would have preferred to spend his free time exercising his body in riding and hunting, and being content with little food and less drink.¹⁰¹

The traditions of the biographical genre and the philosophical ideas of the epoch on the *sympatheia* between the macro- and the microcosmos required that the final moments of the hero's life receive special attention, since they would authentically summarize and faithfully characterize his entire earlier life. Therefore, contrary to what the anti-Sertorian tradition transmitted by Appian had affirmed (*Bell. civ.* 1.113), Sertorius would have been completely sober in the banquet prepared by Perpenna and his co-conspirators and, ashamed by the apparently drunken behaviour of his hosts he would have turned his back to them to avoid seeing them, thereby abetting his own assassination (*Sert.* 26.5). In this final banquet Sertorius would have again shown himself as the emulator of Odysseus, the ideal Cynic ruler, before the vice-ridden suitors of Ithaca. If, as a last gesture showing the grandeur of his soul, Sertorius, sensing the plot with the foresight proper to a true sage, had opted to accept his destiny, he would have shown the mastery of mind over body—*enkrateia*—of the Stoic sage, that would have distinguished him in the culminating moment from the life of his pair in the *Lives* of Plutarch: Eumenes of Cardia.¹⁰²

NOTES

- 1 Mommsen 1876, VII.54.
- 2 On this debate see Treves 1932.
- 3 About the diverse opinion on Sertorius in Greek and Latin historiography see Schulten 1949, 17–30 and Neira 1986, 190ff.
- 4 Jones 1971, 99ff. and 112. A different judgement is reached by Geiger 1981, 95ff.
- 5 Plut. *Sert.* 6.3–4 and 24.4. Cf. Jones 1971, 100–2; Pérez Jiménez 1988.
- 6 Plut. *Sulla*, 12.11–12; cf. Jones 1971, 100.
- 7 Plut. *Sert.* 1.6 (cf. Geiger 1981, 90 and 94).
- 8 Nepos, *Eum.* 18, which depends on Hieronymus of Cardia (Westlake 1954–5, 313); see Geiger 1981, 95ff.
- 9 Plut. *Sert.-Eum.*, 2.
- 10 In relation to Plutarch see de Romilly 1979, 293–307.
- 11 Plut. *Sert.-Eum.*, 1.1; *Sert.* 10.1.
- 12 See the scheme put forward with some hesitation by Jones 1966, 68 and Geiger 1981, 93–4. The relative chronology of Jones—based on Stoltz 1929—is accepted generally for the first ten *Parallel Lives*: van der Valk 1982 and Stadter 1983–4, 358ff., Stadter 1989, pp. xxviii.
- 13 Geiger 1981, 93ff.
- 14 Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 11.15 (324 A), not known to Neira 1986, 200.
- 15 See Jones 1971, 81–6; a more generous view in Russell 1972, 54.
- 16 This is the point of view of Strasburger 1965, 44, Verbrugghe 1975, 203

- n. 29, and Momigliano 1978, 15. With doubts, Laffranque 1964, 117; *contra* Malitz 1983, 70–4, although he thinks a biography of Pompey is possible, and knows the great influence of Posidonius on Greek and Latin historiography for the period down to 63 BC (cf. also García Moreno 1987, 111–31).
- 17 Plut. *Marius*, 43–5, cf. Russell 1972, 132; Malitz 1983, 208–10, 224–8, 399 and 404–6; F.Jacoby, *FGrHist*, 57–8, Komm. (87) 8ff. and 158; more concretely García Moreno 1990.
 - 18 Strasburger 1965, 43 and 50, and even Malitz 1983, 58 and 168.
 - 19 Cf. Strasburger 1965, 44ff.: based on Capelle 1932; García Moreno 1987, 116ff.; Desideri 1972.
 - 20 Strasburger 1965, 41.
 - 21 Malitz 1983, 37. Cf. Theiler 1982.
 - 22 Diod. 37.22a (on the error of Dindorf see Walton 1956, 412–13).
 - 23 Malitz 1983, 100ff. and note 37, doubts its assignment to Posidonius, but Malitz thinks that the *Historiae* ended in 86 BC (*contra* see above, n. 16); instead of Posidonius Malitz proposes the unknown Tanusius Geminus, having in mind Strabo 17.3.8 (=Peter, frag. 1, vol. II, 49), cf. Aly 1957, 124. But in Strabo the Sertorius passage is localized in Lixus (Λύγος), while Plutarch places it in Tingis. But, in spite of an error by Strabo or Sallust (is only a conjecture; cf. Niese 1883 and the well-known familiarity of Sallust with North African antiquities, e.g. Sall. *Bell. Iug.* 17–19, cf. Syme 1964, 152ff., Berti 1988, 156ff.), I think that this Plutarch passage is not based only on Sallust—perhaps following Tanusius—but also on Juba II (see Aly 1957, 125 and García Moreno [forthcoming, 1992]).
 - 24 Diod. 37.22a; on this *topos* of Posidonius, see Strasburger 1965, 48ff., and generically de Romilly 1979, 228ff. and 249ff.
 - 25 Diod. 38.9, from Posidonius even according to Malitz 1983, 406ff.
 - 26 Diod. 38.20.
 - 27 Cf. Laffranque 1964, 482ff.; Rudberg 1918, 55.
 - 28 See García Moreno 1990.
 - 29 Plut. *Mar.* 44.6. Cf. Sartori 1973, 159.
 - 30 Cf. Jones 1971, 101.
 - 31 See Strasburger 1965, 43 and 50ff.; Malitz 1983, 58 and 168, at least for some passages.
 - 32 Plut. *Pomp.* 2.5–6; 18, 2. For the estimation of that virtue of *moderatio* see below.
 - 33 Diod. 37.3 (=Poseid. F 211b Theiler), cf. Malitz 1983, 385ff.
 - 34 See Höistad 1948, 97, 103 and 196ff.
 - 35 Plut. *Pomp.* 19.5. Thus Pompey was shown to be a full νόμιμος (cf. Höistad 1948, 168).
 - 36 Cf. Schulten 1949, 27ff.
 - 37 See Schwartz 1896, 222 and 224; Gelzer 1964; Malitz 1983, 59; Mazzarino 1974, II.1.402ff.; Bowersock 1965, 134ff. There is nothing new in Neira 1986, 205–7.
 - 38 E.g. Plut. *Sert.* 22.4 and 18.6.
 - 39 Plut. *Pomp.* 10.4. Cf. Bardon 1952, I. 282.
 - 40 Sall. *Iug.* 95; *Hist.* 1.88.

- 41 Cf. Schulten 1949, 29; Stahl 1917, 15–32; Neira 1986, 195ff.; Bardon 1952, I. 251ff.
- 42 Liv. *per.* 92.
- 43 Flor. 2.10; Oros. 5.23 and 6.2. Cf. Neira 1986, 204 and 209ff.
- 44 Cf. Büchner 1982, 345ff.; von Fritz 1943; Alfonsi 1963; Savagnone 1976. Malitz 1983, 57 is too sceptical.
- 45 Schulten 1949, 17–27; Neira 1986, 193ff. and 201–4; Gillis 1969, 721ff.; La Penna 1963, 206 and 219ff.; Syme 1964, 178ff. and 204; Scardigli 1971, 64; Russell 1972, 116.
- 46 Cf. Jones 1971, 86 (on Suda 2 and 73 Adler); Russell, 1972, 54. Of course Plutarch quotes Sallust in other passages (e.g. *Sulla-Lysander*, 3.2: *Lucullus*, 11.4 and 33.3 etc.).
- 47 Cf. Tiffou 1974.
- 48 See Leeman 1955.
- 49 Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 252–3 (Bekker, 655, 25), cf. Schissel v. Fleschemberg 1913; Barwick 1922, 217; Mazzarino 1974, I. 486.
- 50 Jones 1971, 103.
- 51 Gabba 1981, 55ff.
- 52 Gomez-Pantoja 1988, 776.
- 53 Cf. Mossé 1969; Ferguson 1975, 73ff., 104ff., and 122ff.; Gabba 1981, 58ff.
- 54 Diod. 2.55–60; 3.53.4–6, 68.5–69.4; 6.1 and 41–6.
- 55 Cf. Fraser 1972, I. 527ff., Pédech 1976, 116ff.; Gisinger 1924, 580ff.; Nicolet 1988, 77ff.; Ramin 1979.
- 56 Plut. *Sert.* 9.3–5, 10; contrast Strabo 17.3.8 and see above, note 23.
- 57 See Schulten 1949, 69ff.; but still Schmitt 1968; Amiotti 1988, 172ff.
- 58 See Plut. *Soll. anim.* 17, 18, 25; Ps.-Plut. *Parall. min.* 23.311 BC; cf. Jacoby 1916, 2389ff.
- 59 Athen. *Deipn.* 83ff.
- 60 Most recently see García Moreno 1989b.
- 61 Plin. *Nat. hist.* 6.37.
- 62 See Fischer 1913, 1249.
- 63 Sall. *Hist.* fr. 1, 100–1; cf. Neira 1986, 202.
- 64 Sall. *Hist.* 1.100:10,000 stades. In Plutarch the Roman mile is made equivalent to 10 stades (Plut. *Cor.* 29, cf. *RE* III A. 1934). On the necessary correction of Plutarch's text see Amiotti 1988, 173.
- 65 Plin. *Nat. hist.* 6.37.202.
- 66 See Klotz 1921, 967; Kroll 1929; Bardon 1952, II. 144; Aly 1927, 336; Desanges 1978, 60.
- 67 Cic. *Epist. Att.* 2.14.2 and 15.3 in 59 BC.
- 68 Plut. *Sert.* 9.3–5; compare with Strabo 17.3.8 (see above, note 23).
- 69 Cf. Desanges 1980, 88; Dion 1977, 145.
- 70 See Höistad 1948, 97; Laffranque 1964, 485ff.; Ferguson 1975, 90ff.
- 71 See also above, note 44.
- 72 On the problems of the sources for these first years of Sertorius in Plutarch see Scardigli 1971, 42ff. who thinks of Sallust.
- 73 Plut. *Sert.* 2. Also the Cynic Heracles was an eloquent speaker (cf. Höistad 1948, 69–71).
- 74 Plut. *Sert.* 3.3–5, cf. Höistad 1948, 98.

- 75 Cf. de Romilly 1979, 219ff. and 281ff.; Höistad 1948, 85ff.; Bravo 1973.
- 76 Sall. *Epist. in Caes.* 1.1.7; 3.2; 4.4; 7.4. I believe these letters to be authentic.
- 77 Plut. *Sert.* 9.1, cf. Ferguson 1975, 122ff.
- 78 So Plut. *Thes.* 7.2 and *Pyr.* 7.7; cf. Pérez Jiménez 1988, 100.
- 79 See Sittig 1913, 1247f. and Amiotti 1988, 166ff.
- 80 Front. *Strat.* 1.10.1–2 and 11.13; Plin. *Nat. hist.* 8.117; Aul. Gell. 15.22. Cf. Neira 1986, 200 and 207.
- 81 Schulten 1949, 180ff.; Plácido 1989, 99ff.; Spann 1976.
- 82 Plut. *Sert.* 11 (App. *Bell. civ.* 1.110; Val. Max. 1.2; Aul. Gell. 15.22; Front. *Strat.* 1.11.13; Plin. *Nat. hist.* 8.117; Polyæn. 8.22).
- 83 Schulten 1949, 80, n. 287; Blázquez 1975, 58ff.
- 84 So Plácido 1989, 99.
- 85 Gabba 1973, 327ff.
- 86 Aul. Gell. 15.22; Neira 1986, 207 is mistaken in thinking only of Plutarch as source.
- 87 Aul. Gell. 15.22.2.
- 88 See Höistad 1948, 94–102.
- 89 Plut. *Sert.* 16, especially 4–5.
- 90 Val. Max. 7.3.6; Plin. *Epist.* 3.9.11. Cf. Neira 1986, 198.
- 91 Schulten 1949, 108 n. 405.
- 92 Aesop 86 (E.Chambry), 53 (A.Hausrath).
- 93 Hermogenes (*Rhet. Graec.* III. 406W). Cf. Dudley 1937, 111.
- 94 So Viriathus: García Moreno 1989a, 43; Lens 1986, 261ff.
- 95 De Romilly 1979, 275–308.
- 96 Babut 1969, 54–67.
- 97 De Romilly 1979, 300ff.
- 98 Plut. *Sert.* 2; 22.6; cf. de Romilly 1979, 294 and 297.
- 99 Val. Max. 9.15.3.
- 100 Plut. *Sert.* 13.1; 15.1; 25.3; 26.4.
- 101 So Plut. *Sert.* 3.1; 12.5; 13.2; 14.2; 26.5.
- 102 Plut. *Sert.-Eum.* 2.3–4. We are grateful to Ms C.F.Warren from the ICE at the University of Alcalá de Henares for her translation and linguistic assistance.

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ANTONY-OSIRIS, CLEOPATRA-ISIS

The end of Plutarch's *Antony*

Frederick E. Brenk, SJ

Plutarch's *Life of Antony* is an unforgettable masterpiece of Greek literature.¹ Powerfully charged with theatrical or operatic vicissitudes against exotic backdrops, it has always struck the popular imagination.² But the *Life* is also a masterpiece of striking ambiguity in character portrayal.³ The tremendous fascination and electrifying effect of certain scenes must at least in part be attributed to Plutarch's manipulation of the dramatic vicissitudes of Isis and Osiris, which are the foundation of the Isiac religion.⁴ Antony and Cleopatra virtually play out the roles to which they were assimilated, or inversely—where the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak, or fortune, fate, and destiny turn against them—become anti-heroes, an anti-Osiris and anti-Isis.

Necessary to understanding Plutarch's procedure, or at least the possible effect upon a contemporary reader, is the documentation in the historical sources for Antony as Osiris and Cleopatra as Isis. Plutarch's use of Isis in *On Isis and Osiris* in so far as this is applicable to the *Life* is extremely important. Moreover, there are overt references or allusions in the *Life* to the assimilations and less overt but important allusions to or inversions of the myth. Finally, there is the web and woof upon which this tapestry of 'Inseparable in Death' is woven. These are the influence of two great feasts of Isis. The first—with reference to the Battle of Actium—celebrates the opening of the sailing season, called the 'Sending forth of the Ships' (*ploiaphesia*) in Greek, and in Latin, the 'Sailing of Isis' (*nauigium Isidis*), but it also recalls Isis' trip in a Nile barque, searching for the corpse of Osiris, and her protection of Osiris as he travels in the solar barque

through the underworld.⁵ The second feast, the 'Finding of Osiris' (the *Heuresis Osiridos* or *inuentio Osiridis*)—important for the last scenes of the *Life*—re-enacts Isis' discovery of the lifeless and dismembered body of her spouse.⁶

In the speech framed for Octavian before the Battle of Actium, Cassius Dio has him accuse Antony of being an Osiris:

Who would not lament...seeing this man has abandoned the traditional lifestyle of his country, imitating all that is foreign and barbaric, respecting neither us nor the laws or gods of his fathers, but prostrating himself before that female impersonating Isis or Selene, calling her children Helios or Selene, and the final outrage, giving himself the title Osiris or Dionysus.

(50.25.2–4)⁷

Earlier he had mentioned that Antony posed for paintings with Cleopatra as Osiris or Dionysus and she as Selene or Isis (50.5.3). The speech, which harmonizes with that in Augustan writers, apparently was based on contemporary propaganda directed against Antony.⁸ To experiment, then, with a maximalist interpretation—examining the last chapters of the *Life* through Isis-Osiris spectacles—does not seem totally unjustified.

Here one must distinguish between various levels of interpretation. Did Cleopatra and Antony actually assimilate themselves to Isis and Osiris? What did Plutarch have in mind? Could an ancient reader make these connections, even independently of Plutarch's intention? Finally, what in the world is a modern reader supposed to see?

Cleopatra seems to have taken her assimilation to Isis very seriously. After that, the answers become more difficult. Antony could hardly have been much interested in assimilating himself to Osiris, except where unavoidable in Egypt. But as consort of the New Isis (*Nea Isis*), as the successor to the pharaohs, and with children called Helios and Selene, he was more than just a New Dionysus, and fatally exposed to hostile propaganda. Plutarch's interest in Egyptian religion, as evidenced by his extremely long treatise on Isis and Osiris, corresponds roughly to the period when *Antony* was composed. Overtly—though he magnifies Cleopatra's assimilation to Isis—he never refers to Antony as Osiris. For him Antony is Dionysus, or to a minor extent, Heracles, and without this assimilation the entry into Ephesus and the Battle of Alexandria make no sense. The Isiac

themes are explicitly relegated mostly to the very funereal end of the *Life*. However, the ancient readers should have vibrated both consciously and unconsciously with the Egypt of Isis and Osiris—perhaps the only Egypt many knew.⁹ Hostile Augustan propaganda pillorying the Egyptian assimilations of Cleopatra, certainly, and of Antony, in all probability, had been bombarded at the whole population.¹⁰

The assimilation of Cleopatra to Isis and Aphrodite is sufficiently documented in the historical sources. For Antony it is largely a question of inference from his role as consort to the queen. The two Egyptian gods, moreover, were extremely popular, not only in Egypt and in the Greek world but also in the very heart of Rome, though the popularity of both Dionysus and Serapis (the Hellenistic form of Osiris) seems to have declined in Alexandria.¹¹ Still, Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, called himself 'New Dionysus' (*Neos Dionysos*) and promoted the god's cult, and the popularity of Isis kept growing.¹² One of Julius Caesar's last designs was to build the Roman Iseum, though many years were to pass before the great temple in the Campus Martius (the Iseum Campestre) rose near the Pantheon. The assimilation of Cleopatra to Isis began very early, documented already at the time of Caesarion's birth, presumably her son through the dictator. At the town of Hermon-this, the *mammisi* (birthplace of the divinity in a temple), no longer extant, contained scenes of a theogamy and divine birth.¹³ Cleopatra gives birth to Caesarion, the new Horos (the son of Isis and Osiris), presented as the 'son of Re [the Sun]', who is received by goddesses.¹⁴ Shortly after Caesar's death, the Triumvirs—possibly to gain Cleopatra's support in the war against the tyrannicides—decided to initiate the temple, and it is suspected that Antony was the driving force.¹⁵ As early as the Old Kingdom Horos was called 'Avenger of His Father'. Caesarion, who received the title 'Father-loving' at Hermon-this, and 'New Horos' (*Neos Horos*), possibly was in competition with Octavian as the avenger of his father, Julius Caesar.¹⁶ Could the Iseum at Rome have suggested the parallel between the revenge of Horos on the murderer of his father, and that of the Triumvirs, and in particular, Octavian on the murderers of Caesar? After 28 BC, the Egyptian cults were banished from the *pomerium*, but the Campus Martius presumably was not included. However, Vergil's description of the Battle of Actium (*Aeneid* 8.696–713) is hostile to the Egyptian divinities. Cleopatra is depicted with the *sistrum*, presumably as Isis, and Roman gods repulse Egyptian.¹⁷

Plutarch's great respect for the Isis religion, as conveyed by his *On Isis and Osiris*, undoubtedly influenced the *Life*, though we cannot be sure of the chronological order of the essay and the *Life*. Both apparently belong to his latest production. In the long essay he treats the religion with great veneration but also forces it into the mould of his own Middle Platonism. But things are not so simple. First, he depicted Isism almost exclusively from sources of the early Ptolemaic period and without obvious reference to the contemporary religious scene. Not much interested in the funerary aspects of Osiris, he ignored as well Isis 'of Prompt Succour' (ἐπήκοος), and the extremely important nautical aspects—'of Smooth Sailing' (εὐπλοία), 'of the Sea' (πελάγια), and 'of Pharos' (the lighthouse at Alexandria) (φάρια)—the most widespread image of Isis in the Greek documents.¹⁸

In recounting the myth, moreover, he largely ignored the celestial afterlife of Osiris, in particular the solar aspects of the god, who had long been assimilated to Ra or Re (Helios), himself assimilated in the classical period to Amon, as Amon-Re.¹⁹ However, in the non-narrative part of the work, an essential part of the exegesis is the transcendence of the god Osiris into the Form of the Good and Beautiful, as so magnificently described by Plato in his 'middle period'.²⁰ This image of Osiris as the Form of the Good is also combined with the Demiourgos-Creator of the *Timaeus*, and the Logos of the latter Plato and the Middle Platonists, for all of which the chosen symbol is the Sun.²¹ Plutarch also seems to have considered earlier this allegorical role for Osiris. In his great dialogue *On Love*, he suggests that the love of Isis and Osiris, interpreted middle-platonically, should serve as the model and the path to the divine.²²

In the *Life of Antony*, a number of overt allusions recall the assimilation of Cleopatra to Isis, but to a much less degree, of Antony to Osiris.²³ One should mention, though, that the closing scenes with their emphasis on *eros* bear a striking resemblance to the nascent Greek novel, which sometimes had an Isiac colouring.²⁴ The most overt allusions to Isis appear in the later scenes of the *Life*. Since these follow the account of Cleopatra's physician, the queen naturally receives more prominence. In chapter 54 she calls herself 'New Isis' (*Nea Isis*), something not attested elsewhere in our sources but most credible, and she is described as imitating the goddess in her dress.²⁵ As the dark clouds of death gather around the queen (74), she prepares herself at the 'splendid tomb

and monument' near the temple of her beloved deity. The continuous association of Cleopatra-Isis with death, a concept more Egyptian than Greek, adds a strikingly macabre, but also supernatural tone to this terrestrial tragedy or sepulchral comedy—depending on one's belief in the goddess.²⁶

Less obvious but still important allusions to Isis appear elsewhere in the *Life*, particularly in the description of Cleopatra's suicide and its aftermath in chapters 85 and 86. Her death results from the bite of an asp, her statues remain standing—many barely distinguishable from Isis—and prominence is given her twin children, Helios and Selene.²⁷ Sun and Moon appear frequently in Egyptian hymns and iconography, among them, the aretology of Maronea:

You took Serapis as [your] companion, and after, you [thus] instituted legitimate marriage, the world shone out before your faces, illuminated by Helios and Selene.²⁸

Here as throughout the *Life*, Plutarch tinges his Isiac allusions with tones of pathetic or tragic irony. For the marital position of Cleopatra, far from the simplicity of the divine couple, was a cluster of Alexandrian ambiguities, even granting Osiris' unwitting adultery with Isis' sister, Nephthys.²⁹

Plutarch makes no explicit reference to Antony as Osiris, but his enemies certainly would have been nodding not to make this assertion. In fact, in the passage from Cassius Dio cited above, we have reasonable proof that he was accused of this assimilation.³⁰ First, he supposedly had himself represented in paintings and statues as Osiris.³¹ Second, just before the battle at Actium, Octavian denounces him not only as Dionysus but also as Osiris.³²

Antony is clearly assimilated to Dionysus, both in Plutarch's *Life* and other sources, and Dionysus was considered the Greek form of Osiris.³³ Antony, as well, appeared on coins as Helios, another *interpretatio graeca* of Osiris. Possibly significant is the fact that Serapis was a tutelary god of Roman Alexandria and that the imperial coins there under Claudius and Nero bore his head.³⁴ Plutarch apparently was overwhelmed by the Augustan propaganda of a dissolute, uncontrolled Dionysus—propaganda hardly pertinent to Osiris.³⁵ However, in both the Egyptian and Hellenistic mind, Isis stood for order and 'discipline', in contrast to the unchaining of the irrational and the arousal of the animalistic in certain aspects of Dionysiac worship.³⁶ But in Alexandrian life the line between

Dionysus and Osiris was blurred.³⁷ For example in the heavily Dionysiac Great Procession at Alexandria, the double cornucopia, the *dikeras*, probably symbolized Isis and Serapis (= Osiris), whose 'earthly' aspects included the chthonic.³⁸ Moreover, in the presence of such explicit and constant allusions to Cleopatra as Isis, the identification of Antony with Osiris seems inevitable.³⁹ Moreover, even through the Roman period, Egyptians never renounced the divine origin of their sovereigns. The emperors, like the Ptolemaic kings, continue to be represented on the walls of temples, performing the ancient rituals. The reign of Antony and Cleopatra, nevertheless, was to be the last manifestation of the unity of politics and religion in Egypt.⁴⁰

Many elements of the myth delineated in *On Isis and Osiris* are reflected or refracted in a skewed way in the *Life*. Among these are assimilation to the Sun, mutual love and fidelity, the birth of a child, a love triangle (Nephtys, Octavia), death at the hands of a 'military' enemy, recovery of the body, and the lamentation joined to dignified burial of the deceased.⁴¹ But from an Isiac viewpoint there are also non-events. Among these—in the order of ascending difficulty—are the re-animation of the body of Osiris, the god's return from the nether world to train his son, Horos, the latter's defeat of the enemy (Typhon-Seth) who caused his father's death, Osiris' intercourse with Isis after death and the birth of their child—Harpokrates or Horos—and the god's astral ascension and assimilation to the Sun (Re).

The less obvious allusions require slightly sharper focus. First, some curious but suggestive events. Antony himself made much of his assimilation to Dionysus, something typical of Ptolemaic and other rulers, and exploited against him by Augustan propaganda.⁴² His entry into Ephesus as Dionysus actually occurs before his 'love affair' with Cleopatra. But as the *Life* continues, he is gradually transformed from the life-giving Dionysus at home in Greek myth, religion, and literature, into a chthonic Dionysus or funereal Osiris more acclimatized in Egypt and Isism.

Antony enters Ephesus, parading as Dionysus, 'giver of joy and beneficent' (Χαριδότης καὶ Μειλίχιος) (24.4). Perhaps unintentionally Plutarch used a term (Μειλίχιος) applied to the chthonic Zeus, protector of the dead.⁴³ In Graeco-Roman society, banquets, which figure prominently in the *Life*, were frequently tinged with suggestions of death, even with the appearance of a dead body or skeleton (σκελετός).⁴⁴ Possibly the custom originated in Egypt or

was reinforced by the Egyptian practice of using small representations of mummies at banquets.⁴⁵ One would presume that those of Osiris, the mummy *par excellence*, appeared on such occasions.⁴⁶ Plutarch hints at this metamorphosis of Antony in a change of name. The company he shared with Cleopatra transforms itself from the 'Inimitable in Life' ('Αμμητόδιοι, 28.2) to the 'Inseparable in Death'—more literally, 'About to Die Together' (Συναποθανούμενοι) (71.4).⁴⁷ The future tense underscores union at the moment of death. But we should recall that Isis triumphantly resurrected and joined her husband in death—mating with him and making him the living-dead king of the underworld—and possibly in later versions of the myth aided him in his acquisition of astral resurrection and glory.

Less obvious, but no less ironic, is the pattern of the love affair. After Cleopatra's initial pursuit of Antony, the roles are reversed as he becomes the slave of passion. Plutarch undoubtedly was influenced by hostile propaganda. As lover, his hero plays Isis' role in the Platonic allegory of *On Isis and Osiris*, though functioning as an anti-Isis, since Antony is dragged down, not raised up, through love (374 A–375 A). In the Plutarchian description, his eye keeps turning to her (παπταίνοντα πρὸς), and he loses all rational control (οὐκ ὄντων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν, 37.6). Later (67.7)—like that of all lovers in the biographer's estimation—his soul inhabits not his own body but an alien one (τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἐρώντος ἐν ἄλλοτρίῳ σώματι ζῆν). When one recalls that Plutarch's Osiris is Logos itself, the irony of an assimilation to Dionysus-Osiris becomes more ridiculous.⁴⁸

Two curious supernatural events also can be interpreted as suggesting aspects of the Isis religion. Leaving Athens, 'on the suggestion of an oracle', Antony takes water with him from the Clepsydra (34). Carrying water is of such extreme importance in Isis religion, that the insignificant event harmonizes with other Egyptianizing elements in the *Life*.⁴⁹ Before the Battle of Actium, swallows attacking a nest on the ship called the *Antonias* destroy the young (60). The portent in itself seems relatively insignificant, but it relates to several elements of Isiac iconography. First, Isis is above all a 'nurse of the young' (*kourotrophos*). Next, Isis is frequently represented as a bird hovering over the body of Osiris, and thus suggestive of defeat and death (though also of resurrection)—a scene depicted in Plutarch's own *On Isis and Osiris*. In some representations, Isis and Nephthys appear as kites wailing the dead

in the funeral boat that carries them to the West. Isis becomes a swallow at Byblos (357 C) in a part of Plutarch's account modelled on the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*; and the *ba* ('soul bird' with human head) of Isis is represented as a swallow. A text of Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 22.2, suggests that the swallow figured in the Roman cult of Isis. The swallow (Procne) was among the Greeks a bird of mourning associated with the nightingale (Philomela), but there are Egyptian and Phoenician precedents for Isis as the swallow.⁵⁰

Particularly important thematically are suggestions and inversions on the two most important festivals of the Isis religion. The first, called in Greek the *ploiaphesia* and in Latin the *nauigium Isidis*, celebrates the commencement in spring of the sailing season. At this time a ship, sometimes named the *Isis*, was launched. The second re-enacts the initial joy at finding the body of Osiris, followed by ritual lament and proper burial—the *heuresis Osiridos* or *inuentio Osiridis*. In the Iseum at Pompeii one fresco representing the nauigium suggests the inuentio, since Isis is in a barque searching for the corpse. Moreover, another fresco there apparently representing the nauigium does so in a strikingly military way: new warships bristling with arms sweep past an older wreck.⁵¹ The Egyptian queen was ruler of Alexandria, perhaps the most famous port of the ancient world. Later in the *Life* she becomes more closely associated with the sea, thus incorporating an important Isiac role.⁵² Here one should recall the Nile voyage of Isis in Egyptian myth, her protection of Osiris-Re in the solar barque, and her role as guardian of seafarers in the Graeco-Roman world.⁵³

Besides Cleopatra's obvious involvement with ships and the sea at Actium, her first grand appearance is portrayed as in the guise of Aphrodite, one of the Greek equivalents of Isis, on a barque sailing up the river at Tarsus (26).⁵⁴ Whether she actually portrayed herself here as Isis is not so clear. An important element in the Ptolemaic cult of Isis was music and dance. Her women servants, the seven Hathor-musicians, played the tambourine before Harpocrates and Isis both in the principal temple of Isis, at Philae, and in the temple at Dendera. The musical accompaniment of Cleopatra's sailing into Tarsus might reflect a festival of Isis-Hathor at Alexandria.⁵⁵ However, the music is that of flute, pipes, and lutes, and her waiting women are not described as musicians. Still, Isis seems to have inherited her role as patroness of navigation from Hathor (the goddess of love). In one papyrus, twenty rowing girls are described.⁵⁶ Cleopatra's servant girls, who work on the rigging and tackle, would seem to

correspond to those of Aphrodite-Hathor, but possibly as well to an Aphrodite-Hathor-Isis.

Less obvious but quite important is Cleopatra's voyage with Antony to Ephesus and Samos in chapter 56.⁵⁷ In a curious inversion, elements are drawn both from the *ploiaphesia* and the *beuresis*:

while all the world around was filled with groans and lamentations [περιθιγουμένης καὶ περιστεναζομένης] a single island resounded with flutes and stringed instruments.

Plutarch uses the word *threnos*, the term traditionally employed in Greek for the funeral lament. The term was used for Isis' retrieval of the body of Osiris, and such lamentation was re-enacted in Isiac ritual. Later lamentation will be associated with Cleopatra's flagship retreating ignominiously from Actium. Plutarch has left an unforgettable depiction of the stricken Antony aboard the vessel:

but he neither saw her nor was seen by her, but going forward alone to the prow sat down in silence by himself, with both hands, holding his head...[later] he threw himself down again in the same posture, and sitting by himself he remained silent. Three days he lived by himself at the prow, either out of anger for Cleopatra or too ashamed to face her...Here the female companions of Cleopatra at first persuaded them to address each other, then to dine and sleep together.

(67.5–6)

Above all, the *inuentio Osiridis* is realized in the monumental tomb near the temple of Isis where Cleopatra consummates her life.

At Actium Cleopatra's conduct is that of both Isis and anti-Isis, responsible for Antony's defeat and disgrace, but also—after saving him from death at sea—providing honourable burial. Antony and Cleopatra spent the winter of 32/31 BC at Patrae. Afterwards a coin was issued in which Cleopatra wears the Isiac coiffure, the only trace of Egyptian influence there until the second century AD.⁵⁸ According to Plutarch, she it was who insisted on fighting at sea, and prevailed (63) against Antony's own sentiments and the touching objection of a veteran soldier—'Why put faith in miserable planks of wood?' Some terracotta lamps, dated a century after Actium, represent Isis and Serapis in a ship, in a manner faintly reminiscent of the two on board Cleopatra's flagship.⁵⁹ One of the lamps found at Puteoli and now in the British Museum is particularly significant. Between the volutes of the prow is a Dionysiac



Figure 1 British Museum: Bailey 1988, Q2722. Lamp of Isis in a ship.

head with an ivy-leaf wreath, and the pine-cone head of a *thyrsos* (the staff of the Dionysiacs) flanked by long leaves. The triangular area by the stern contains, within a frame of leaves with tendrils and berries, standing figures of Isis and Serapis. He holds a steering oar, while she carries a cornucopia and extends her hand to touch his head. Both figures stand on leaves or waves (see figure 1). One of the inscriptions reads **ΕΥΠΛΟΙΑ**, an epithet of the Cnidian Aphrodite.⁶⁰ Other lamps have the inscriptions **ΚΑΤΑΠΛΟΥΣ** and **ΝΕΙΚΗ**.⁶¹ Another lamp shows Serapis in the prow and Isis in the stern—similar to Antony's role immediately on being taken aboard (see figure 2).⁶² The concept was extremely ancient. In the rites of Osiris as early as the 12th Dynasty, there existed a sacral boat, the *neshmet*-barque, 'his great ship of eternity and everlastingness'—concerned with the passion, death, and burial of Osiris.⁶³

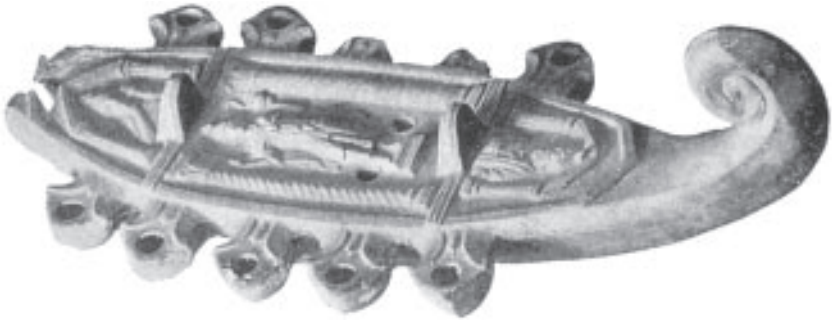


Figure 2 Ostia, Inv. 3218 (Squarciapino 1962, frontispiece). Lamp of Isis in a ship.

Cleopatra's conduct ironically echoes the Fifth and Eighth Hymns engraved on the temple of Isis at Philae, a place particularly revered by Cleopatra:

[Isis, who] attacks the powerful ones...smites millions... great of massacre against her Enemy...who protects her brother Osiris...Uraeus of Re...beloved of his heart, who gives orders in the barque,...I place for you North and South under your soles, and West and East in obeisance [to you].⁶⁴

More pathetically tragic in the light of Actium are lines from the Third Hymn of Isidorus:

Isis, pure, most sacred, mighty...
 ...righteous. You grant great blessings to possess wealth,
 a life that is pleasant and most serene happiness:
 material gain, good fortune, and happy soundness of
 understanding.

All who live lives of greatest bliss, the best of men:
 sceptre-bearing kings and those who are rulers,
 if they depend on You, rule until old age,
 leaving shining and splendid wealth in abundance
 to their sons, and son's sons...

But the one whom the heavenly Queen has held the most dear
 of princes,
 rules both Asia and Europe
 keeping the peace.

(2-14)⁶⁵

In the *Life*, Cleopatra-Isis is not only Antony's 'ruin and destruction' (τὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν ἤδη καὶ προσαιοπολοῦσαν αὐτόν, 66.8). She watches helplessly as the Arabs lay torches to her own vessels, which she intended to launch into the Red Sea as a means of escaping war and servitude (69).

The end of Plutarch's *Antony* bears striking resemblance to the Greek romance, and it has been noted that every 'Isis' romance includes a shipwreck. Presumably the survival of the heroine or hero would reflect on the saving greatness of the goddess. Many of these 'novels' were written long after Plutarch's *Life*, but a reflection of the Isiac shipwreck can be found in Petronius' *Satyricon* (or *Satyrice*) (99-114), contemporary with Plutarch's youth. The Isiac content is relatively modest, but nevertheless important for the plot. At some point in the story, the hero Encolpius, taken up by Lichas, a Tarentine ship-owner, seduces his wife, and departs with the sacred robe and rattle of the goddess. Since much of the action centres around Puteoli, the major port and site of a very important, and the first, Isis sanctuary in Italy, the presence of the goddess is natural.⁶⁶ Not far out at sea a storm overtakes the protagonists. The trembling Lichas stretches out his hands to Encolpius, imploring him to restore the sacred robe and rattle of the goddess, their only hope of rescue.

Petronius' version may be an ironic inversion of the Isiac novel, since his two rogue heroes survive, while Lichas, the brutal but soft-hearted devotee of Isis, quickly is swept overboard and

overwhelmed by the waves. Petronius in fact dramatizes the plight of Lichas, whose body turns in a gentle eddy and drifts to the shore. When Encolpius recognizes Lichas, he launches into stereotyped tragic or epigrammatic reflections on the mutability and vanity of wealth and position. However, even here, Lichas' devotion is not totally in vain, since his 'enemies' not only build a pyre on the shore, 'reducing him to ashes', but the pedant, Eumolpus, composes an epigram for the deceased.⁶⁷ The safe return of Antony and Cleopatra, then, to Alexandria, might be conceived as a benefaction of Isis Pelagia.

The *heuresis Osiridos* and the lamentations of Isis are most reflected in the termination of the *Life*. At the Queen's monument near the temple of Isis, Antony-Osiris and Cleopatra-Isis become ever more closely identified with the funereal aspects of death, with the afterlife, and with love beyond the grave. Antony's body, 'even should he die in Rome, is to be dispatched to Cleopatra in Egypt' (58). Contemporaneously, the hero continues to receive 'love letters (*δελτάρια τῶν ἐροτικῶν*) engraved on onyx or crystal (58.11). There was the swallow omen before Actium (60) and the alleged responsibility of Cleopatra for his destruction (66). After the defection of his general in Libya, Antony thinks of suicide, returning to Egypt only to find Cleopatra attempting to launch her ships in the Red Sea. Then, a recluse like Timon the misanthrope he retires to Pharos, the former island and lighthouse of Alexandria (69).⁶⁸ But Isis, as the special protectress of Pharos and navigators, bore, as one of her principal titles, 'Pharia'.⁶⁹

The final scenes, though almost farcically replaying the Isis-Osiris myth, are tinged with its genuine pathos, where mutual love overcomes the sorrows of life and death. As the Alexandrian banquets of the 'Inimitable in Life' yield to those of the 'Inseparable in Death' Cleopatra busily experiments with methods of self-extermination, finally deciding on the venom of a serpent, presumably the asp (cobra, *uraeus*) (71.4). But her employment of others as guinea-pigs for the poison, and the execution of the wife and children of the defector, Seleucus, would fall short of some peoples' expectations of divine conduct.⁷⁰ Then she more passively retires to the monument for the ultimate preparations for her departure from life (74).⁷¹

Returning to our hero, we find an Osirian theme restated just before the famous description of the supernatural Dionysiac *thiasos* which abandons Alexandria and Antony before the final

battle. Determined to die valiantly in combat, he eats and drinks heavily, forecasting his death to his servants: 'the morrow would see him a mummy (σκελετός) and nothing more' (75.3). As already mentioned, Osiris, to whom Egyptians would assimilate Antony, is the mummy *par excellence*. More macabre is his clumsy suicide attempt, when he hears the false rumour of Cleopatra's death, seeking immediately to join her in the afterlife (76). Antony learns she is alive and is then grotesquely hoisted into her monument. After this memorable variation on the 'Finding of Osiris', Cleopatra's role reflects the weeping Isis of the magnificent lamentations of the Bremner-Rhind papyrus.⁷² But Antony stops her *threnos*, preferring rather to expire with one 'last hurrah'. Calling for a cup of wine, he advises her on whom to trust, and admonishes her not to grieve over his changed fortunes: she should count him blessed for the good things received, since—having become the most illustrious and mighty of men—not ignobly, a Roman, he had been vanquished by a Roman (77).⁷³

But future material for a romantic posterity is not yet exhausted. Octavian, the unsuspected *deus ex machina*, intervenes to permit a splendid burial for Cleopatra's lover. She had complained that 'inseparable in life' they will now, ironically, be 'parted in death', he to be buried in Italy and she in Egypt. Embracing the urn that contains her lover's ashes, she pours libations over it, lamenting the guard that prevents her disfiguring her body, and notifying him not to expect more honours or libations. Then, in apparent abandonment of Isis, she beseeches the gods there (of Italy)—for those of Egypt have abandoned her—'not to permit their separation in burial, since of all her innumerable ills, nothing was so great and dreadful as this brief time (ὁ βραχύς οὗτος χρόνος) she lived without him' (84.7). The actual realization of her following prayer for common burial may have owed more to the propaganda needs of Octavian than to the *dis manibus* of Antony.⁷⁴ Their assimilation to Isis and Osiris hopefully offered the couple a more felicitous eschatology than Plutarch's disparagement suggests.⁷⁵

Finally, through an unforgettable and regal death, Cleopatra passes to a better life. In Plutarch's favoured version, her death occurs through the bite of an asp or cobra, the symbol of the divine Isis.⁷⁶ In *On Isis and Osiris* he relates that the asp (and some other animals) were honoured because 'the Egyptians saw in them certain faint images—like the sun in raindrops—of the power of the gods' (380 F–381 A).⁷⁷ Presumably the mode of her death brought her apotheosis

and a cult.⁷⁸ Perhaps, too, her passing would have recalled to herself and to later travellers to Philae the transcendent words carved in the temple wall:

Who protects her brother Osiris...Uraeus of Re... beloved of Re, who gives orders in the barque...I place for you North and South under your soles, West and East in obeisance [to you].⁷⁹

NOTES

- 1 The author is very grateful to C.B.R.Pelling and M.Smith, both of University College, Oxford, for looking over his manuscript and making many helpful suggestions and corrections, though they would have different ideas about many points expressed.
- 2 As one example, a humorous operatic recreation through puppets (*burrattini*) of the death of Cleopatra, from *L'impresario delle Canarie* di Pietro Metastasio (1724)—as sung during the intermissions at the Naples Opera—was presented at the American Academy, Rome, in spring 1989.
- 3 This chapter is greatly indebted to Pelling 1988. See also the voluminous and detailed, though less original, commentary of Scuderi 1984 and Andrei and Scuderi 1989.
- 4 Hägg 1983, 103, points out, however, that such vicissitudes exist in almost any 'love story'.
- 5 A striking representation of the voyage, from the tomb of Inherka, is reproduced in Wullemans 1989, 126. Bruneau 1963, 307, cites four inscriptions from the Temple of Horos at Edfou, in which Isis is referred to either as the boat of Horos, or as protecting him (once from the prow) in a boat or barque (IV. 18.11, IV. 213.1, VI.9.6–7, VI.59.6–7).
- 6 Dunand 1973, III.230–8; Griffiths 1970, 448–9. Dunand sees the *ploiaphesia* as a feast of renewal of all nature in spring and the universal power of the goddess (225).
- 7 τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν θρηνησείη καὶ ἀκούων . . . πάντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια τοῦ βίου ἔθῃ ἐκλελοιπότες, πάντα δὲ τὰλλότρια καὶ βαρβαρικά ἐξηλωκότα καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν ἢ τῶν νόμων ἢ τῶν θεῶν τῶν προγονικῶν μηδὲν προσιμῶντα, τὴν δ' ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνην καθάπερ τινὰ Ἴσιν ἢ σελήνην προσκυνοῦντα καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτῆς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ὀνομάζοντα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἑαυτὸν Ὀσίριν καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπιεκκληκότα.
- 8 Reinhold 1989, 110 notes Dio's extreme prejudice against Egyptians; however, he considers the speech—which possibly had Augustus' autobiography as a source—a reflection, even in details, of the propaganda of 40–30 BC (p. 105).
- 9 Sourvinou-Inwood 1989 (esp. 134–6) discusses the extent and radical nature of cultural determination in reading a classical text.
- 10 See for example, Geiger 1980. Zanker 1988, 57–65 (=1987, 65–72) notes

- how Octavian took merciless advantage of Antony's identification, contrasting Dionysus with Apollo, the symbol of order and morality.
- 11 So Fraser 1972, I.300. Dunand 1973, I.154, notes that at Philae, by the time of Auletes, Isis appears alone or accompanied by undifferentiated *synnaoi*, though the divine son is associated with her, either as Horos or as Harpocrates. For the popularity of Isis as a goddess of sailing at Ostia, see Squarciapino 1962, 30–5; for the link between Puteoli and Delos, see Malaise 1972b, 258–9; Tran tam Tinh 1972, 23–4; Turcan 1989, 84–7. A fresco in the north-west wall of the sacrarium in the Iseum at Pompeii, depicting the *inuentio Osiridis*, with Isis drawing the boat *Sokaris* (Plutarch, *On Isis* 18 [357 F–358 B]) has two huge serpents above a cista mystica; Malaise 1972a, 279–80, no. 47, pl. 44; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 99–100, pl. X.1. At the time of restoration of the Villa of the Mysteries in the early Augustan period, the *tablinum* next to the room of Dionysiac scenes was decorated with Egyptian ones, including a pteriform Isis (protectress of the dead), the *uraeus* (the sacred serpent [cobra or asp], depicted in pharaonic crowns and decorations), and Seth; see De Vos 1980, 12, tav. III–VII.
 - 12 A small well-preserved bronze bust (1st cent. BC)—supposedly from Alexandria and now in a private collection—which depicts Ptolemy XII Auletes as Dionysus, perhaps indicates how Antony might have depicted himself; Bianchi 1988, 155, Cat. no. 58=Grant 1972, pls 4 and 5.
 - 13 Dunand 1973, I, 42 citing Daumas 1958, 339–47; Lepsius 1849–59, Bl. 60a. At the temple of Hathor at Dendera, Cleopatra and Caesarion are represented making offerings to the deities of the province (Grant 1972, pl. 28).
 - 14 For the complicated problems surrounding the assimilation of Osiris to Re, see Hornung 1983, 92–6; Cauville 1983, 187–90.
 - 15 Dio Cass. 47.15.4; see Malaise 1972b, 378–82—following Jeanmaire 1924, 242; Roulet 1972, 2, 23–34.
 - 16 See Grant 1972, 100 for Caesarion as avenger of his father.
 - 17 Heyob 1975, 21 notes that Isis, Serapis, and Harpocrates seem calculatedly absent from Vergil's battle, perhaps because of their popularity at Rome.
 - 18 Froidefond 1988, 135, 144, 147 citing Dunand 1973, II.20, 112–14, 162. A coin of Cleopatra shows her wearing a diadem, with a ship's prow before her; Crawford 1974, I.539, no. 543; II, pl. LXIV=Grant 1972, pl. 46.
 - 19 Griffiths 1982, 630–1, describes Plutarch's account as 'more human and dramatic' compared to the early Egyptian version; on p. 1067, he praises Plutarch's gifts as a religious historian.
 - 20 For Plato's own role in attributing outstanding theoretical science to the priestly caste, see Froidefond 1971, 342.
 - 21 Froidefond 1988, 111–14.
 - 22 Developed by Brenk 1988, 462–9; on *On Isis* 374 A–376 A, see Froidefond 1988, 83–5, 117.
 - 23 On Cleopatra VII-Isis, see Fraser 1972, I.244–5.
 - 24 See, for example, Anderson 1984, 83, 199; Hägg 1983, 26–32, 101–3,

- 182–3. Anderson (78–9) notices a close connection between religious cult and *eros* in these romances, and that in *Joseph and Asenath* a principal point is the conversion of a noble Egyptian woman to Judaism (81).
- 25 Pelling 1988, 251–2 notes that the title seems to originate with Cleopatra VII. Scuderi 1984, 92–3, gives evidence for believing the title was mentioned in Augustus' memoirs and transmitted through Livy.
- 26 Dunand 1973, III.280–2.
- 27 Pelling 1988, 323.
- 28 Zabkar 1988, 142: 'illuminated'—literally, 'endowed with eyes'.
- 29 See, for example, Pomeroy 1984, 24–7. Cleopatra was married to two of her brothers in succession, but eliminated her siblings, and later had a relationship with Julius Caesar, who in all probability fathered Caesarion.
- 30 Hillard 1987, 29–30, argues that the tendentiousness of much source material suited Plutarch's needs admirably, and that for the late Republic, he was almost too richly served.
- 31 50.5.3: συνεγράφετό τε αὐτῇ καὶ συνεπλάττετο, αὐτὸς μὲν Ὅσιρις καὶ Διόνυσος, ἐκείνη δὲ σελήνη τε καὶ Ἰοῖς λέγοντες εἶναι. Dunand 1973, I.43, note 3; Becher 1976, esp. 92–3; Becher 1966, 25. Augustus himself, at least later, was not adverse to doing something similar. De Vos 1980 (74, tav. xxxiv, xli) notes Egyptian motifs in the cella of the mausoleum of Augustus (*atef* crown with *uraei* etc., symbol of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt, and a cornice with motifs similar to that below the funeral bed of Osiris in the Temple of Dendera, and in Ptolemaic friezes). She believes such motifs reinforce the hypothesis that Octavian's mausoleum was inspired by the Alexandrian model of the Macedonian *tumulus*—particularly fitting, since he had reserved Egypt for himself. The 'Villa Farnesina Romana', possibly a villa of Agrippa, had extensive Isiac decoration; Bragantini and de Vos 1982, 31, 128–33, 188–9, 191, 237, 338–41.
- 32 50.25. See Becher 1966, 25, Becher 1976, 92–3; Dunand 1973, I.45, note 1. There may be an allusion to the *lamentatio Osiridis* in 'who would not lament', 'who would not groan'.
- 33 At Athens in 39–38 BC, while married to Octavia, Antony for the first time appeared on coins as Dionysus; see Sydenham 1952, 193, pl. 29, no. 1197 (no. 1198, similar, not shown)—noted by Huzar 1978, 195. In no. 1197 two huge erect serpents appear on either side of a cista mystica. However, Crawford 1974, II.743, describes the iconography as standard for this type of coin. Pomeroy 1984, 40, cites Diodorus Siculus for the view that the assimilation of Ptolemaic queens to Isis—contrasting with the monarch's to an effeminate Dionysus—entitled them to greater power and honour than the king. At Dendera, Cleopatra was portrayed as a pharaoh wearing the double crown, while making offerings to Isis, and as a pharaoh with Caesarion—also depicted as a pharaoh; Bianchi 1988, 188–9, cat. no. 78, 51 BC (Louvre, E.27113); Grant 1972, 100, pl. 28.
- 34 Cagnat 1911, no. 1102; Poole 1892, 10, no. 77, 19, nos. 155–7—cited in Huzar 1988, 639.

- 35 See Becher 1976; Scuderi 1984, 93–4; Andrei and Scuderi 1989, 270–4, where Scuderi notes how Plutarch modifies the propagandistic image.
- 36 So Préaux 1978, 659.
- 37 Rossi 1959, 162 believes the *Neos Dionysos* propaganda—also used by Mithridates—was counter-productive among Antony's Roman and Italian troops.
- 38 So Rice 1983, 202–8; see also Fraser 1972, I.202–3. Samuel 1983, 90–1, notes that the procession was overwhelmingly Greek in tone. See also Pelling 1988, 303–4.
- 39 See Pelling 1988, 180 citing Scott 1929.
- 40 So Dunand 1973, I.45.
- 41 In ch. 54, Octavia has the Isiac traits of fidelity and maternal love. Antony portrayed himself with the radiate crown of the Sun (Helios) in 38 BC; Crawford 1974, I.534, no. 533, II. pl. LXIII. Antony's coins, moreover, show Octavia replaced by Cleopatra; Sydenham 1952, 193–4, pl.29, nos. 1200, 1210.
- 42 R.R.R.Smith 1988, 97–8, 133–4, pl. 75.23 (cf. 80.9) commenting on the 'realistic' style of coins minted 34–31 BC for the Actium campaign (Antony on obverse, Cleopatra on reverse), observes that the couple publicly projected a consistently 'Roman', not Hellenistic image (134). See also Bianchi 1988, 159–65, cat. no. 61u-z. Cleopatra is even portrayed with the physiognomy of a Roman general. None of these coins ever presents the Queen in Egyptian regalia. They starkly contrast with the beautiful, flattering busts of the Queen; Bianchi 1988, 184–8, cat. no. 76, original c. 50 BC (Vatican Museum 38511) and 77, original 30–11 BC (Antikenmuseum, Berlin 1976.10). Similar are some early coins; Grant 1972, pl. 18, 38–37 BC [Askalon], and 46 BC [Alexandria]. In a coin issued at Cyprus, Cleopatra—probably as Isis—is depicted with an infant, probably Caesarion, at her breast; Poole 1883, 122, no. 2, pl. xxx.6; Grant 1972, fig. 29.
- 43 See Pelling 1988, 176–83; Scuderi 1984, 61–3. An early Hellenistic relief at Ephesus shows Zeus Meilichios enthroned, with a snake behind his legs. At Lebadeia and Orchomenus, near to Plutarch's Chaeronea, inscriptions to Zeus Meilichios or Daimon Meilichios have been found. The funereal and chthonic elements—suggested especially by the serpent and *daimon* references—are particularly prominent at Selinus; see Nilsson 1967, 411–14; Henrichs 1984, 263, note 33.
- 44 See Dunbabin 1986, 194 on the *Συναποθανούμενοι*.
- 45 Dunbabin 1986, 208–12, fig. 20; referred to by Plutarch, *Symposion of the Seven Sages*, 148 A, *On Isis and Osiris*, 357 F; cf. Griffiths 1970, 335–6.
- 46 The *ecclesiasterion* of the Iseum of Pompeii has yielded a dramatic fresco of the 'adoration of the mummy of Osiris' (Plutarch, *On Isis* 39 [366 E-F]; see Malaise 1972a, 271, 280–1 and pl. 45 (=Tran tam Tinh 1964, 65–4, pl. VIII.2; Witt 1971, fig. 25).
- 47 Ptolemy Philopator had established a society of *σύμφοτοι* (carousers), called the 'Laughter-Makers' (*Γέλοιασταί*) (Athenaeus, 246 C= *FGrHist* 161 F2), which has clear Dionysiac overtones; see Fraser 1972, I.204, note 113. Becher 1976, 93, notes that the *Σύνδοδος Ἀμμητοδίων* is

- attested by an inscription (Dittenberger 1903–5, I.195).
- 48 The cult of Serapis perhaps was intended to underscore the Osirian aspect of Dionysus (Fraser 1972, I.206).
- 49 Wild 1981, 64, notes that rain water, not Nile water, was the preferred substance for supplying the Nile water containers. For the cultic pitchers and images of Osiris Hydreios, see Wild 1981, 101–28. A very striking relief from Alexandria shows Osiris Hydreios between Isis-Thermouthis and Serapis-Agathodaimon, both in serpent form (Wild 1981, 107, 303, pl. XII.2=Hornbostel 1973, Taf. cxci, Nr. 310).
- 50 Pelling 1988, 266 citing Dio, 50.15.2, for swallows on the tent and flagship of Cleopatra. For the bird forms of Isis, usually as kite or falcon, see Bergman 1980, 190 who, however, does not mention the swallow. For swallows, see Griffiths 1970, 328–9.
- 51 Niccolini and Niccolini 1854, tav. IV (=Brilliant 1979, 95).
- 52 Fraser 1972, I.245, notes the titles Arsinoe Aphrodite, Aphrodite Akraia Arsinoe, Aphrodite Zephyritis, i.e., Aphrodite as protectress of seafarers.
- 53 The Isis book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* was primarily concerned with initiation into the mysteries, but chs 16 and 17 contain allusions to the nauigium. In chapter 5 (269) Isis declares 'maris salubria flamina nutibus...meis dispenso'; in 25 (286), Lucius prays 'mari terraque protegas homines'. In the *Metamorphoses* the ship, dedicated to the goddess, is called the *Isis*—something attested for real ships: Griffiths 1975, 31–2, 46–7, and in general, the section, 31–47.
- 54 Le Corsu 1978, 29–31, somewhat unconvincingly argues that Cleopatra entered Tarsus as Isis-Egypt. But Cleopatra might have displayed some Isis-Aphrodite attributes.
- 55 Dunand 1973, I.203–4.
- 56 *Papyrus Westcar* 5. 7ff. (cf. Simpson 1972, 20) is cited by Griffiths 1975, 38, for 20 female rowers with epithets of Hathor. However, the epithets are generic for a group of young girls.
- 57 Also to Athens in ch. 57, where she receives τίμαι, perhaps divine honours.
- 58 Poole 1887, 23, nos 14 and 15, pl. v, 9.; cf. Dunand 1973, II.21.
- 59 Mentioned by Griffiths 1975, 46 and 274, note 1. See Walters 1914, nos 391, 392; Bailey 1988, nos Q 2722, pl. 80. Bruneau 1974, 333–81, 339 figs 2, 3; see also Broneer 1930, 284, no. 1448, pl. xxi; Joly 1974, 164, no. 839, tav. xxxi.
- 60 Bailey 1988, 339–40, no. Q 2722, pl. 80; Bruneau 1974, 338, fig. 1; inscriptions on British Museum nos 65b, 66b.
- 61 Walters 1914, 55–6, fig. 64a=no. 390; fig. 65b=no. 931; fig. 66a=no. 392.
- 62 Squarciapino 1962, 32 and frontispiece (Ostia, Inv. 3218) (cf. Bruneau 1974, 339, fig. 2 [Ostia], and a similar type, fig. 3 [Athens]). One depicts Isis with the *uraeus* and lotus flower on her head, and on her sleeve, a Jupiter-Serapis mounted above a crescent moon (Inv. 5535); another has busts of Isis and Serapis embracing (Inv. 2146) (35); cf. Walters 1914, 131, fig. 163=no. 865; 143, fig. 188=no. 946 (Alexandria); 56, fig. 65a =no. 391 (Alexandria) Serapis in prow of a boat, underneath incised ΚΑΤΑΠΛΟΥΣ (fig. 65a, b); similar, fig. 66a=no. 392, with NEIKH (NIKH) underneath.

- 63 Griffiths 1975, 35–6.
- 64 Zabkar 1988, 58, 64, 119.
- 65 Vanderlip 1972, 49–63. See also the texts in Totti 1985, 79–81.
- 66 For Isis at Puteoli, see Malaise 1972b, 326–7, Malaise 1972a, 284–91; Tran tam Tinh 1972, 23–4; Turcan 1989, 86. The British Museum ship lamp, Q 2722, with Isis laying her hand on Serapis, is from Puteoli.
- 67 In Petronius' perspective, a fate worse than death.
- 68 In the passage Timon is associated both with suicide (of others) and the tomb by the sea, a popular funereal motif.
- 69 For the Isis Pharia and Pelagia statue and coin types, see Griffiths 1975, 43–4; Bruneau 1961, Bruneau 1963, and Bruneau 1974. Some coin types are late (e.g., Valerian, Constantine) but the relief (Délös A 3187) is c. 100–50 BC, while the lamp (Délös B 2984) should belong to the 2nd cent. AD (Bruneau 1961, 435–8). Bruneau (1961) notes (446) lamps found as votive offerings in the sanctuaries of Isis and Serapis at Eretria, Philippi, Pompeii, and Delos. See also Witt 1971, figs 57, 60–2, 65.
- 70 Hägg 1983, 33 notes that the theme of poison is very prominent in Iamblichus' romance, *Babyloniaca*.
- 71 Though near the shore, the exact location of the monument is uncertain. See Pelling 1988, 300; Scuderi 1984, 117–19, who suggests the promontory Lochias.
- 72 Faulkner 1936, 121–40. The Kaisarion (Caesareum) or temple of Augustus, which Cleopatra perhaps originally built as a shrine for Caesar or Antony, was constructed on a magnificent scale (Strabo, 794.9; Plin. *Nat. hist.* 36.69; Philo, *Embassy to Gaius*, 151). In 13 BC Augustus had two obelisks ('Cleopatra's Needle', Embankment, London, and its twin, now in Central Park, New York) placed in front of it; see Fraser 1972, 1.24, pl. 3, and notes 155–60. The best treatment remains M.-L. Bernhard, 'Topographie d'Alexandrie: Le Tombeau d'Alexandre et le Mausolée d'Auguste', *RA* 47 (1956) 129–56, esp. 143.
- 73 The drinking of wine would recall the Great Procession at Alexandria, which Plutarch alludes to before Antony's final battle there.
- 74 Pelling 1988, 322 cites Suetonius, *Augustus* 17.4, Martial, 4.59, and *Anthologia Latina* 417, which attest to the tomb shared by Antony and Cleopatra. Johnson 1967, analyses the hostile treatment of Cleopatra's death in Augustan literature.
- 75 Osiris himself became a saviour-god, his fate being a pattern for final triumph after suffering and death (Griffiths 1982, 629). However, other Egyptian gods—for example Hathor, also a female counterpart of Osiris—offered a shared identity, and Osiris also—not just Horos or Isis—saves. See M. Smith 1987, 43–5, col. VII: 'protective in his underworld', 'will destroy your enemy, and slay [him in] slaughter'; comment, 101–2, and 129–31 (BH 10507 from the early Christian era). For theology see Griffiths 1980, 64–5, 99–107; Spronk 1986, 88–93; Tobin 1989, 103–24, 125–52.
- 76 See Pelling 1988, 318–22 with the references there, in particular, Griffiths 1961, noting that as the daughter of Re, and *Nea Isis*, she would be guaranteed immortality without need of the *uraeus* bite; Baldwin 1964;

- Griffiths 1965. A very striking fresco of Isis holding a fierce-looking *uraeus* was found in the Iseum at Pompeii: Tran tam Tinh 1964, 69–71, pl. VI.
- 77 Egyptians saw in the *uraeus* worn on the royal headdress a terrifying image of divine protection; Griffiths 1970, 556.
- 78 So Becher 1966, 179–80, who notes a cult of ‘Aphrodite and Cleopatra’ attested for the 3rd cent., a *Kleopatreion* for the 4th–5th cents (Mitteis and Wilcken 1912, 146, no. 115). The identification of Cleopatra VII is not certain, but a Timoneion and Mausoleion are mentioned with it.
- 79 Zabkar 1988, 58, 64.

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